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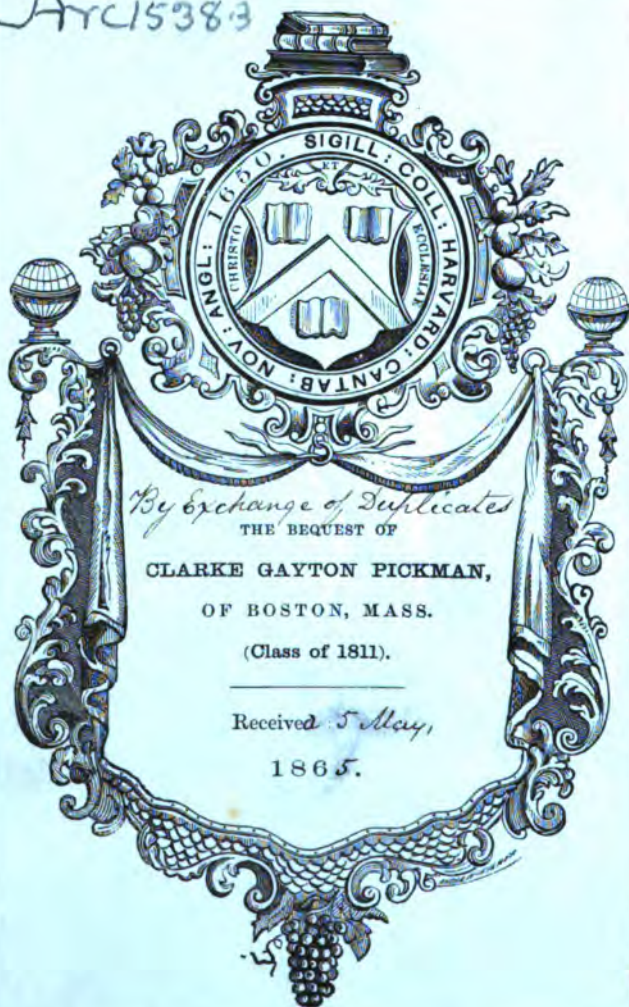
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# THE COINAGE

OF THE

# BRITISH EMPIRE:

AN OUTLINE OF  
THE PROGRESS OF THE COINAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND HER DEPENDENCIES,  
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY  
HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS,  
Author of  
"ANCIENT COINS AND MEDALS,"  
"ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ART OF WRITING," ETC. ETC.

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## PREFACE.

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THE success which attended the publication of my first numismatic work, an unpretending little volume, entitled "The Coins of England," of which six distinct editions were called for within four years, and which is now again out of print, has induced me to undertake a more extended and complete work upon the same subject.

In that work, as the title clearly implied, only the *English* coinage, strictly so termed, was described. Neither the Irish nor Scottish coinages, before or after the union of the countries, was referred to, nor was the fine series of Anglo-Gallic coins struck by English sovereigns in their continental possessions described, nor the coins issued by Great Britain, at a later period, for her widely-spread colonial dependencies, all of which are treated of in the present volume, and blended into a continuous narrative; a form which has not been adopted in any previous work on the subject.

To these are added another feature entirely new in treatises on the British coinage, an introductory account of the origin of the art of coining, accompanied by specimens of the earliest class of coins, and examples of their progressive development, in style and excellence of execution, in Greece and Rome, till the period at which the Roman coinage was introduced into Britain. Many of the now established facts, contained in this introductory chapter, were unknown when the last comprehensive work on this subject—Ruding's excellent "Annals of the Coinage"—was published. For

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instance, in the opening chapter of that work, it is stated that the origin of the art of coining is so ancient that it is lost in the darkness of remote antiquity; an assertion now so far disproved, that the period of the first issue of coined money, can not only be approximately fixed, but that period is proved to be a comparatively modern one, that is to say, within the range of authentic history; and not exceeding seven or eight centuries before the Christian era.

The true character and positive value of the ancient British ring-money, were also unknown at the period of the latest general works on this subject, and have, in fact, been only recently ascertained, through the persevering and interesting researches of Sir William Betham. This branch of the subject is, therefore, for the first time introduced in its proper place, in the present volume.

Another new feature in this work will be found in the comparisons drawn between the state of the British coinage at successive periods, with the contemporary coinages of the Continent. Thus, to the account of our interesting monuments of the siege money, and "money of necessity" of Charles I., I have appended a concise description of some of the most remarkable siege pieces struck in other countries, such as those of Vienna, issued during the memorable siege by the Turks; those struck in Pavia when beleaguered by Francis I.; and others.

Indeed, the active archæological researches of the present day, have led to the elucidation of so many interesting facts connected with numismatic study, the results of which lie scattered through the pages of special periodical publications, and technical treatises, that a popular condensation of all the more leading incidents connected with the national coinage seemed called for at the present time.

The examples selected to illustrate the coinage of each successive reign, or period, are invariably chosen as presenting marked characteristics of the epoch, or as possessing some remarkable

peculiarities, either of type or inscription ; thus avoiding the confusing mass of examples contained in technical works, the differences between which are only appreciable by the deeply-learned numismatist. As in my former work, I have represented the coins, by a chromolithographic process, in their respective metals—gold, silver, or copper, etc., having found that mode of representation capable of conveying a much more vivid and true idea of a coin, to such as are not constantly in the habit of examining extensive collections of coins of all epochs, than the mere black outline by means of which the examples have been hitherto represented. The striking difference of effect between these two methods of illustrating numismatic works, may be at once tested by comparing one of the metal plates of this volume with the supplemental outlines in the appendix, which are executed in that manner as being merely required to form a series of marginal notes, as it were, to the principal illustrations at the head of each chapter.

In conclusion, I may add that I have endeavoured so to arrange the contents of the present work, that any young student, on the accession of a new British coin to his store, may either find such an account of it, or of other coins of the same class, as shall at once enable him to assign it to its proper place in the national series. Though treating almost exclusively of the types, inscriptions, and art displayed upon the coinage, and leaving the more abstruse questions of “ the currency ” out of the question, I have not thought it right to conclude my work without a few remarks upon the adoption of a decimal coinage ; now seriously agitated for the first time in England, though established in France, in a most perfect manner, for more than half a century.

H. N. H.



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# THE COINAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering upon our Survey of the Progress of the English Coinage, it appears necessary to take a short review of the Coins of the Ancient World, which I shall attempt very briefly. But previously, a few words will hardly be out of place on the importance and interest of the study of Coins in general, which, at the first glance, might appear dry and unprofitable, but which is, perhaps, the most interesting of all the studies connected with the remains of antiquity; and is, at all events, as Mionnet has termed it, "*une magnifique branche d'Archéologie.*"

It will readily be conceded, that other monuments of art—such as temples, statues, triumphal arches, etc.—have proved of the most important advantage in elucidating and testing the chronicles and histories of past times, and even in bringing to light important events in the history of the world, of which no *written* record existed; and Coins, when brought to bear in a similar manner, become still more positive evidence.

A Coin, let it be found where it may, proves at once, incontrovertibly, several things concerning the people who originally issued it, and their state of civilisation. It first shows the place of its issue, either from a symbol, or the name of a city, or people; or in coins of a later period, from a portrait of a sovereign, accompanied by an inscription; the latter often relating to some great historical event; in which case the precise date of the coin is generally discoverable with ease: so that a coin, of which the purpose (for we know it was a piece of money), the country, and the date, cannot be disputed, besides conveying at once a general idea of the arts, resources, and manners of a people at the epoch of its circulation, must, when bearing evidence to special events, become an incontrovertible and striking testimony. The date of the foundation of Rome, for instance, or at all events that received by the Romans themselves, is proved by a coin, struck by the Emperor Philip the Second, to commemorate the millennium of the city. The inscription of this coin states that it was issued in the year of his

third consulship, the period of which being well known, the foundation of Rome is at once placed precisely 1,000 years before that event; at least according to the computation of the Romans themselves. That date, however, received by Roman writers and many subsequent historians, rests upon no better foundation than a nativity cast by an Oriental astrologer named Tarrutius, at the desire of the learned Varro, and adopted even by the stern Cato without hesitation; so strongly had the early superstitions of Eastern nations engrafted themselves upon the faith of their descendants in the West. Other Roman coins, where triumphal arches have crumbled to dust, and statues have been overthrown, still record in letters, fresh as the day they were struck, such great historical facts as "Judæa capta," "Victoriae Britannicæ," "Aegypto capta," and others of equal importance.

Mr. Knight, in his "Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Mythology," when speaking of the value of monuments, and of the difficulty of separating such as were mere efforts of taste from those which were positive emblems of believed Divine truth, says, "There is one class, however (of monuments), the most numerous and the most important, which must have been designed and executed under the sanction of public authority, and therefore, whatever meaning they contain, must have been the meaning of nations, and not the caprice of individuals." It is needless to add, that coins are the monuments alluded to. They have been aptly enough termed the lenses of the historical telescope, which annihilate the distance of time, and bring distinctly before our eyes contemporary records of past ages with unerring accuracy. In short, the most eloquent epitome of history, in the smallest space, may be contained in a small cabinet of coins.

The circumstance of the extremely perfect preservation of many of the finest specimens of ancient money that we possess, though accounted for in various ways, has suggested to numismatists that their science is not a modern one, but that its importance was felt also by the ancients, and that the learned and curious among the Greeks and Romans collected beautiful coins, as well worthy of preservation, either as historical records, or interesting monuments of the progress of art; indeed, some have imaginatively conceived that even "*Numismatic societies*" may have existed, with a Pausanias, a Varro, or a Pliny as chairman, just as we elect a Thompson, a Johnson, or a Smith to a similar post.

Even the exact sciences have received some positive aid from the study of coins. Astronomy acquires evidence, from the device on a coin of Augustus Cæsar, of the appearance of a great comet at a certain precise period. This comet is the one supposed at the time by the populace of Rome to be the spirit of Julius Cæsar after his apotheosis. The period exactly corresponds with the calculated time for an appearance of Halley's great comet, the second previous to the one observed by that astronomer

himself; thus affording most interesting evidence of the correctness of the observations that had determined its orbit and the period of its returns. Suetonius, it is true, also mentions the appearance of the comet, but the coin is a great additional evidence.

The acknowledgment of the importance of numismatic science has indeed become so general among the learned of all classes, that a professor of another science, one which has laid bare the early history of the earth itself before its habitation by man, has taken advantage of the high historical interest of coins, to call fossils, the "*medals of creation*;" as doing for the story of the solid globe itself, that which coins have done for the story of its subsequent inhabitant, man.

Sir Isaac Newton made frequent use of coins in testing the dates in his great work on ancient chronology; and through their means the names of upwards of two thousand places, provinces, and princes have been preserved, many of them having no other record. In iconography, or portraiture, coins are of the greatest interest, for those of the Greek and Roman series enable us to look upon undoubtedly accurate representations of the features, not only of the great Alexander—of the Ptolemies—of Cæsar—of Augustus, but also of Homer—of Sappho—of Cicero—whose portraits, though not placed upon the public coinage during their lives, were afterwards engraved on the public money of different states in honour of their memory. The celebrated archæologist, Visconti, has published two magnificent works on ancient portraiture—his "*Iconographie Grecque*," and his "*Iconographie Romaine*"—in which the portraits found on coins play the most conspicuous part.

An instance has just occurred, in which a lost history has been revealed through the medium of recently discovered coins. This, the last example of the importance of numismatics I shall refer to, is that of the series of Græco-Bactrian and Græco-Indian coins. It is well known that after the death of Alexander the Great, his powerful lieutenants partitioned out his empire, each erecting for himself an independent sovereignty from some of the vast conquered provinces; but of the princes of those established in North-Western India only about eight names—those of the more immediate successors of Alexander—were preserved by history. By the discovery of the coins in question, however, this meagre list has been extended to not less than twenty; followed by the coins of their more barbarous successors! forming together a series extending from the third century before, to the twelfth century after, the Christian era, affording dates, names, and landmarks from which we may hope to see a complete history arise in the place of a vast and dreary blank: in addition to which, a lost language appears likely to be recovered through the medium of the bilingual inscriptions upon one series of these remarkable relics.

For the recovery of these invaluable historical records we are principally indebted to our conquests in India, and to the antiquarian zeal of our



countrymen there established, but especially to the industry and acquirements of the late lamented Sir Alexander Burnes, although some Græco-Indian coins had already reached Europe through the French General Allard, when in the service of Runjeet Singh.\*

Such are some of the results of European conquest in the East. Still more interesting and important discoveries may follow our more free intercourse with China; and the occupation of Northern Africa by the French, will doubtless, when complete, lead to many valuable and unexpected revelations.

If a series of names and dates, recorded only upon coins, have thus shed such new and interesting light upon some of the most obscure portions of ancient history, how much more vivid to the English student must be the interest which the preservation of similar monuments throws upon the progress of our own history as a nation?—an interest in this case much increased by the fact, that the monuments still preserved of our national coinage form a more complete series than that of any other of the nations of modern Europe.

Having attempted to exhibit a few of the important results to be expected from the study of coins, I shall attempt to give a brief sketch of their origin, as far as it is known, and their gradual progress to about the time of Julius Cæsar, when the history of British coins may be said to commence.

The use of coins as a circulating medium, in substitution of simple barter, has so long been a matter of every-day practice, that it is difficult to conceive the existence of a period when their use was unknown; and yet, the invention of true coins, as we now understand the term, is a comparatively modern one, not dating farther back than about seven or eight centuries before the Christian era, though different modes of substituting metals and other substances for simple barter, had been adopted at a much earlier period.

The earliest money transaction on record is that in which it is related that Abraham weighed to Ephron "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," in payment for the field of Machpelah. This payment doubtless consisted of mere pieces of silver, without any impress or mark, which passed by weight only, as the term shekel (which eventually became the name of positive coins of gold and silver), from shakal, to weigh, fully implies. The denomination for money used in the book of Job is not, however, *shekel*, but "*kesitah*," a lamb; as some have thought, from the image of that animal having been stamped on the pieces, of the weight of a shekel, as the image of an ox was afterwards placed on the Roman pound-weight of copper; the shekel, though at first without mark, being afterwards stamped with the symbol of that barter in cattle for which it was

\* The best information on this interesting subject is to be found in Professor Wilson's Memoir, and in the earlier notices of Messrs. Princeps and Masson.

the first more convenient substitute. There is also an hypothesis that *kesitah*, though translated "a piece of money" in our version, may possibly have been actually a lamb; it is most probable, however, that the term *kesitah*, or lamb, refers to the *form* of the weight by which the shekel of silver was weighed—the shekel being probably the quantity of silver for which a lamb was exchangeable, and the weight by which it was weighed being made in the form of that animal, to represent the kind of cattle and the number—a single lamb—which that weight of silver represented, when it superseded direct barter. Both the weight, and its value in reference to cattle, may have been derived from the Egyptians, as in an Egyptian painting (Plate 13, No. 1.) we find public functionaries—for in Egypt the state superintended all transactions of the kind—represented in the act of weighing pieces of silver in the form of ring-money, with a weight in the form of a lamb, and noting down the amount on a tablet. In the same painting is a weight in form of half a lamb, the hind quarter evidently representing half the full weight. Similar weights have been discovered in Assyria by Layard—and the Jewish half *Shekel* may have been represented in the same way. The *Shekel*, when long afterwards issued in the form of a positive coin,\* was of the weight of two Greek *Drachms*, and equal, therefore, to about two shillings and threepence of our money, which would be about the value of a lamb at that period. In Anglo-Saxon times, in the reign of Æthelstan, the value of a *sheep* was only one shilling, but money was then rare in England. Ear-rings are also mentioned in the payment just referred to, which were, doubtless, the jewel-money, to be described hereafter. The *Shekel* of the age of Jacob, appears to have been succeeded by the *Shekel ha-kodesh*, of the sanctuary, of which the standard remained in the custody of the priests. It would appear that as commerce increased from the time of Abraham to that of Micah, who lived, according to the ordinary computations, about 1,500 B.C., that commercial wants had greatly increased, and that the pieces of silver used in trade had augmented in number and diminished in size; for a transaction of Micah with his mother, has reference to a sum of ONE THOUSAND pieces of silver; and similar sums of one thousand pieces of silver are mentioned three centuries later in the transaction of the five lords of the Philistines and Delilah; and that they were very small pieces, is proved by the statement that the lords brought the money in their hands—probably in sealed bags, each containing a certain weight, as represented in Egyptian paintings. Such was the nature of the

\* The types of this coin are, on the obverse, the sacred cup of manna which Moses was ordered to preserve in commemoration of the manna miraculously furnished in the wilderness on the reverse, the rod of Aaron, on which three flowers are shown. The inscriptions are in the ancient Samaritan character. And the most common read, on the obverse, "Shekel of Israel," and on the reverse, "Jerusalem the Holy." Some have such inscriptions as "Saviour Prince of Israel," "The first year of the deliverance of Israel," etc., etc. See Plate 13, No. 13—a coin issued about 144 B.C.

monetary transactions of the Jews, and it is quite certain that they did not adopt the use of positive coins till long after their introduction into other countries. From the time of Abraham, however, to that of the Macabees, about 144 B.C., they probably had, like other Oriental nations, in addition to their more common money formed of small pieces of silver—which passed by weight—a kind of “jewel-money,” previously alluded to, consisting of ear-rings and other personal ornaments, adjusted to a certain weight, which might on occasion be used as money. Such are the jewels mentioned in Genesis xxiv. 22, as given by Abraham’s servant to Rebekah. “The man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold.” They had also a kind of ring-money, no doubt similar to that afterwards used by the Celtic nations of the West. The gold and silver ring-money of the East appears to have been formed of wire, bent into a circle, but not fastened, so that it could with ease be made into a chain, from which portions could be detached at pleasure. “We have,” says Mr. Bonomi, in an interesting Memoir, “the actual representation of this currency among the ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians in hieroglyphic sculptures, in which it is not uncommon to see men weighing rings, and a scribe taking note of their number and value”—as shown in figure 1, Plate 13, previously referred to—“the gold rings being painted yellow, and the silver white, accompanied by the hieroglyphics of those metals, engraved or painted near them; the hieroglyphic representative of gold being the crucible, and the crucible crossed by a leek, the symbol of white, representing silver.” Similar rings are still current in Nubia, and Mr. Bonomi was enabled to procure some specimens from a Jelab, or slave merchant, which he has presented to the Numismatic Society. They varied from a sixteenth to three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and in diameter, the longest way, from two and a half to three inches; the rings of silver were larger, and some of them, which had been worn as bracelets, were ingeniously ornamented with engraved work. The paintings above alluded to (Plate 13, No. 1) also represent sealed bags, containing possibly a number of rings, equal to a certain weight—probably a talent. The pieces contained in such bags may not always have been of the ring form: but at all events, their aggregate weight was most probably a talent, as would appear by the history of the bags of silver given by Naaman to Gehazi (2 Kings v. 23), each of which contained a talent, being, together with a change of raiment, enough for one man to carry. Other kinds of money, of more primitive character, also existed—such as engraved stones, like the Egyptian scarabei: pieces of cloth, or slices of salt, of a certain estimated value, which still form the current money of some parts of Northern Africa, doubtless, the remnant of patriarchal times and customs.

To the Greeks,—the fathers of so many of the great features of civilisation, or perhaps their Grecianised neighbours the Lydians, it appears we must attribute the first invention of *positive coins*, as money. Some

however, have attributed an earlier date to the Persian darics of gold and silver (coins nearly equivalent to our modern guineas and shillings); and some give precedence to the Phœnician coins struck in their colony at Malta, while others even give the precedence to the first brass money of Italy. But in neither of these cases do we find a *gradual* development of the art of coining, from the simple stamping of the lump or button of metal on one side only, through all its phases, to that of the perfect coin; while the coins of Greece, on the contrary, exhibit the whole and gradual progress of the art. In all the instances referred to, only perfect coins have been found, though in the Maltese case exceedingly rude, serving to prove that the art was received by them in an already advanced stage. The first species of money that was circulated by tale and not by weight, of which we have any account, consisted of *spikes*, or small obelisks of brass or iron; six of them being as many as the hand could grasp. From the names of this rude money, were derived the words *obolus* and *drachma*, signifying "spike" and "handful," which continued long after the invention of positive coins to be the names of two well-known pieces of Greek money, one of which was worth six of the other.\*

The date of the transition in Greek monetary affairs from weighed pieces, or such as passed by weight, or by bulk, to positive coins, of guaranteed individual value, cannot be accurately defined; but, as Homer expressly states that an ox was exchanged for a "bar of brass" of certain dimensions, and a woman who understood several useful arts was considered of the value of "four oxen," it is clear that a positive coinage did not exist in Greece in his time; while the allusion in the laws of Lycurgus to both gold and silver coins, proves that they were then in use; and it is, therefore, between these two epochs that we must place the invention of coined money.

Although to the Greeks must be assigned the rapid development of the principle, which superseded weighed money, yet Herodotus states that the Lydians were the first to issue gold *coin*,—that is, pieces of metal passing by *tale*, or *counting*, and not by weight, their weight and value being already guaranteed by the stamp and signet of the states by which they were issued. The first appearance of true coins, whether Lydian or Greek, and which were at first only of gold, must, as shown, have occurred between the epoch of Homer and that of Lycurgus, and may be approximately estimated, as having taken place about eight hundred years before the Christian era, and to have been imitated by an issue of silver coins of similar character, in the island of Ægina, about fifty years later, the credit of which issue the "Parian Chronicle" assigns to Phidon, prince of Argos.

The earliest symbols placed on these primeval coins were always of a sacred character; at first, emblems referring to the foundation of the state, as the phoca or seal found on the coins of the Phocians, in reference to the shoal

\* Drachma is the name of the principal coin in use in Greece at the present day.

of those animals, accepted as a good omen, which followed the fleet during the emigration of that people to Asia Minor. Emblems immediately referring to protective gods are next found forming the national stamp or signet of the ancient coins of Greece, and then, the images of the gods themselves; but not till after the age of Alexander the Great were portraits of sovereigns allowed to form the sacred stamp of any national coinage, and even then they were only tolerated in that position by the fiction of deification, continued on modern coinages by the supposition termed the "divine right of kings."

The earliest Greek coins were only stamped on one side, the reverse bearing only the impress of the rude punch, by means of which the metal was driven into the die. As an example of this primitive kind of coin, I have selected one of the earliest Lydian gold coins alluded to by Herodotus, which, in fact, bears the impress of the emblem of Sardis, the chief city of that state. The act of impressing a seal or signet was an understood sign of solemn compact at a very early epoch of human civilisation; and it was a custom in daily use in the Assyrian empire, the recent extraordinary discoveries of Layard having brought to light several clay seals, bearing the impress of the signet of the Assyrian king, which appears to have been attached to documents of papyrus, or some other substance for writing on, just as we find the great mediæval seals of modern Europe attached to the parchment documents of that epoch.

On the Lydian coin under description (No. 2, Plate 13), the fore-parts of a lion and bull form the subject of the seal or signet, by which its weight and worth were guaranteed. This type was doubtless originally received from Assyria or Persia, where the triumph of the lion over the bull symbolised the triumph of regal power over external or domestic enemies. The lion also represented heat, or the sun, and the bull water or general humidity, being an image afterwards adopted by the Greeks to symbolise a river. This coin, as will be perceived on reference to the engraving, has on the reverse only a deep rude indent.

If the first gold coinage, which evidently originated in Asia Minor, in the region so thickly populated with Greek colonies, was yet a Lydian invention, it may be supposed the Greek neighbours of the Lydians, the elegant Ionians, were not long in imitating it; and, indeed, some consider that it is to the Ionians themselves that the first invention of this art ought to be attributed, and that the Lydians were the imitators, but that, in consequence of their superior wealth, and the infinitely greater number of pieces issued by them, the celebrity of the first coinage of true money remained with them instead of its real inventors.

However this may be, it is to the Greeks solely that we owe the great development of this important step towards the extension of commerce, and with it the more rapid extension of every kind of civilisation. As an example of one of the earliest coins attributed to the Greeks themselves, I have selected a coin (No. 3, Plate 13), attributed by an eminent numismatist

to Miletus, in Ionia, which bears more undisputed marks of high antiquity and true archaic character, than even the Lydian coin just described. The type or seal is a lion's head, a type preserved on the later coinage of Miletus, and originally, like that of the Sardian coins, derived from Persia or Assyria, and associated by the Greeks with the worship of Cybele.

The weight of the earliest gold coinage of Lydia, was similar to that of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. It was founded upon some well-known and generally accepted standard, by which gold had previously passed by *weight* before it was stamped as coin. These pieces were, therefore, termed *staters*, as being of a certain *standard*. The Ionian coin (No. 33, Plate 13) is a double stater, and weighs 248 grains, 124 being the average of the single stater of that standard. The more ancient or Babylonian standard, upon which some of the Greek staters were founded, those of Cyzicus, for instance, is 180 grains. Of these gold coins there are also halves, quarters, thirds, and even smaller subdivisions, many curious and minute specimens of which are to be seen in good collections; each bearing a type as perfectly executed as the larger pieces. This Greek stater is the parent of the leading gold coin of all subsequent periods. It was of the value of twenty subsequently-coined silver pieces, analogous to our shillings; so that, in fact, the relative proportion of our shillings and sovereigns was struck out once for all in the very first coinage that was ever issued.

On the subjugation of the Greek states of Asia Minor by the Persians, the gold coinage found in circulation was imitated by the conquerors; but confined, it is thought, to the use of the subdued provinces. The weight and general form of the Persian pieces are the same as those of the Greek stater, the only difference being the substitution of the Persian emblem, the crowned archer, for the Grecian types. The example (No. 4, Plate 13), exhibits one of these coins, which, it will be seen, has still the rough indent or punch-mark at the back, without any attempt at ornament.

The example, No. 5, Plate 13, exhibits one of the earliest attempts to improve the effect of the rough punch-mark by making the point of that instrument in the form of a head or some other object, which thus appeared in concave in the indent of the punch. The example is a half-stater of Phocæa. In the coinage of Magna Grecia this system was very elaborately carried out by making an exact repetition in concave of the relief of the principal side. Of this remarkable system, the engraving, No. 7, Plate 13, is an excellent example; it is a silver coin of the city of Sybaris, with the initial letters of the name of the city ΣΥ (sy) placed beneath the type, which is to be read from right to left, noticing that the sigma (Σ) is placed face downwards (⌞), the early manner of writing it.

To illustrate the curious methods adopted in some of the reverses of early coins, I have travelled somewhat out of the chronological order of the subject, to return to which, I must now refer to the coinage of Ægina, where the most

ancient silver coinage is supposed to have taken place, in emulation, probably, of the gold coinages of Asia Minor. The specimen I have given of the Æginetan coinage (No. 6, Plate 13), is not one of the very earliest examples, yet it still exhibits the primeval form of punch-mark on the reverse; while the national type, the tortoise, is in exceedingly striking relief on the obverse.

It would be inconsistent, in a mere introduction to the British coinage, to dwell minutely on the gradual progress of the Greek coinage towards perfection; I shall, therefore, only give an example of one intermediate stage, followed by a specimen of the highest perfection to which that branch of Greek art ever attained. The intermediate example I have selected is an Athenian coin (No. 8, Plate 13). Its principal type is the head of Athena or Minerva, the tutelary divinity of the state; and for the reverse, her chief emblem, the owl, with the three initial letters of the name of the city, AΘΕ. The type of the reverse, it will be seen, though itself in relief, is still sunk within the square indent of the punch, which, however, soon disappeared altogether when a subject in relief had once been introduced within it.

The perfection to which the Grecian coinage very rapidly attained, when the archaic difficulties were once overcome, cannot be better exemplified than by one of the Syracusan medallions (No. 9, Plate 13), struck at a period when Greek monetary art had attained its fullest development. The obverse bears for the type the head of Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, accompanied by dolphins, one of the ancient symbols of that city. The reverse represents a victor, at the Olympic games, receiving a wreath from a victory, a type not unusual on coins of the period; and which became very common in the reign of Philip of Macedon, when it formed the reverse of the gold staters, which he issued in such vast numbers that they became known by the name of Philips. The Philips were in such general circulation, that other states imitated them long after the reign of that prince, and such imitations passed under the old name of Philips for many centuries. The example, No. 11, Plate 13, is one of the original coins. The Sicilian copy of the coins of the Macedonian Prince were distinguished by the national Sicilian symbol, the triquetra, or group of three legs, in allusion to the triangular form of the island; and the original inscription, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, in the genitive case (Of Philip), implying "Money of Philip," was replaced by ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (Of the Syracusans). Up to this period no human portrait was ever placed upon a coin. But the following example, No. 10, Plate 13, a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, is thought by some to bear the actual portrait of the great Macedonian conqueror; if so, it is Hercules in the features of Alexander, and not simply and boldly the portrait of Alexander himself. With his successors, however, those great lieutenants who, out of the fragments of his empire, created for themselves independent sovereignties, a new epoch arose, in which the ancient faith, and the hierarchic power,

were shaken to their foundation, and a band of military princes did not hesitate to displace the effigies of the gods from the national coinages, and substitute their own; though at first always under some pretence of deification—Lysimachus as a descendant of Bacchus, Seleucus of Apollo, etc. The illustration I have selected of the first example of human portraiture on national coin, is a gold stater of Ptolemy Lagus (No. 12, Plate 13), whose share of the great Macedonian empire was the rich province of Egypt. The head is an undoubted portrait, and the reverse has the Ptolemaic eagle, which from this epoch figures on nearly all the reverses of the Greco-Egyptian coinage.

The Greek coinage, even before the period we have arrived at in our present summary view of its progress, had extended its principles through the north of Greece to transalpine Gaul—and meeting there with similar currents of influence, radiating from another centre of Greek civilisation, the ancient colony of Massilia, now Marseilles, spread farther northward, reaching even the remote island of Britain; where imitations of the Philips, and of the silver coinage of Alexander, began to supersede the Celtic ring-money, which, like the new kind of money that was now displacing it, had also originated in the East, and travelled westward by a similar route, though at a much earlier period. In describing the earliest British money, I shall again refer to this Oriental stream of civilisation flowing westward. It has been shown that the first coinage of Asia Minor consisted entirely of a gold issue, a circumstance to be accounted for by the abundance of gold in that region, the fabulous richness of the sands of the Pactolus, which flowed near to Sardis, being known to every schoolboy. European Greece, on the other hand, was celebrated for its rich silver mines, and the first Greek coinages were of silver. But in Italy and Sicily, where copper abounded, the earliest coinage was one of copper, or rather a mixture of copper, etc., termed *Æs*, a term, perhaps, represented by our “bronze.” The *lira* in Sicily and the *libra* in central Italy, were the unit upon which this bronze coinage was founded; and this weight is the parent of our modern troy weight, as it was divided into twelve unciae or ounces.\* The pound weight of copper is said to have first received a state impress in Rome, to pass as coin, in the reign of Servius Tullius, about 578 B.C. This gigantic coin, or rather ingot, was made in a square form, and was termed an *Æs*, or *As*, that is, a “piece of bronze.” There were pieces of one, two, four, and even ten pounds. The style of this money may be seen by reference to Plate 14, which is a piece of five *æses*. The engraving is taken from the celebrated specimen once in the Pembroke collection, which was termed in the catalogue a *Quadrussis*, but it weighed four pounds nine ounces eleven pennyweights and three grains,† which plainly shows that it must have been a piece of five pounds, and not four. These pieces, from being impressed

\* Though equal to a modern pound avoirdupois. † This fine monument was sold for £22, 10s.



with the images of cattle, such as oxen, sheep, etc., were called "*pecunia*," from the Latin *pecus*, cattle,—and from this source we have our term "*pecuniary*." Indeed, the early Roman coinage furnishes nearly all the monetary terms of modern Europe.

The full pound of copper, or *Æs*, in these pieces was gradually reduced\* to nine ounces, and about that time the ancient square form was abandoned for a circular one. An example of the *æs* in this form will be found in Plate 15, No. 1. The head of the bifrontal Janus, or Saturn, as some deem it, was adopted at this time for the type of the *æs*, accompanied by the numeral I.; and a perfect reverse was adopted, exhibiting the prow of a ship. There were many subdivisions of this coinage: the *uncia*, or piece of one ounce, distinguished by a single semi-globule or raised dot under the ship, with the head of Minerva on the obverse; the *Quincunx*, or five-ounce piece, distinguished by five dots, etc. There were also circular pieces as high as the *Decussis*, or pieces of ten *æses*, but none such are known of the period when the *æs* was of nine ounces. The *Decussis*, engraved in Plate 14, No. 2, the value of which is indicated by the numeral X. behind the head of Roma, was struck at a period when the national standard of the *æs* had been reduced to four ounces, and the twelve uncial divisions in proportion, though still termed ounces, while in fact only a third of that weight. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the *æs* was so much farther reduced, as to be no larger than a modern copper farthing. At that time, however, the *Sestertius*, of the value of two *æses* and a half, became the coin by which all sums were calculated; and without changing its name, it afterwards became worth four *æses*. The half of this was then the *Dupondius*, which was in fact a double *æs*, of the decreased standard, and its half was the *Assarion*, an ancient name of the *æs*; so that the once magnificent coin, the head of the Roman coinage, now stood last and lowest.

The Romans did not issue a silver coinage till the year 281 B.C., when its standard was founded upon that of the Greek *Drachma*. The *drachma* being at that time of the value of ten Roman *æses*, the new silver coin was termed a *Denarius*, or piece of ten *æses*. This piece became eventually the parent of the silver pennies of our Anglo-Saxon coinage, and of those of France, where it preserved its name also, the silver pieces of France, corresponding to our pennies, being called *Deniers*, a term which, in provincial districts of that country, is still a general name for money. The Romans did not coin gold till 207 B.C. The coin which eventually became their standard gold coin, was called the *Aureus*, and was worth twenty-five *Denarii*.

Such was the state of the Roman coinage on their establishment in Britain,

† See Humphrey's "Ancient Coins and Medals," Chap. xvi., and Humphrey's "Coin Collector's Manual," Vol. i.

where their coins soon superseded those of the natives (to be described hereafter), forming the sole circulating medium of the whole of Romanised Britain for four centuries, and leaving, doubtless, after the termination of the Roman dominion, many traces of its character; though less than might be expected. Roman art, however, influenced the style of our coinage a second time through the Lower Empire; the coins of Constantinople being probably the types of some of those Saxon and Norman coins by which the last degenerate remains of our former Roman currency were so completely superseded, and the basis of our present monetary system established.

There is a great similarity, even in style of art, from the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., between the coins of the Lower Empire and those of the whole of continental Europe, and the former present no marked superiority of execution over those of comparatively barbarous nations, so low had some branches of art sunk at that period, even at Constantinople; and yet the Byzantine influence was the only one then felt, and it may be said to have moulded the arts of the whole of northern Europe at that period. Its influence, in fact, in the central and eastern portions, was felt for some centuries after; in Russia, as recently as the seventeenth century; and, indeed, it is not extinct in that country even at the present day; as was strikingly shown in the well-marked Byzantine characters of the Muscovite jewelry sent to the Great International Exhibition of 1851. Having thus brought down our sketch of the ancient coinages till they are fairly linked on to the modern series, the next chapter will refer to the earliest known money of Britain.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE EARLIEST MONEY OF THE BRITONS, AND THE COINS OF THE ROMANS RELATING TO BRITAIN.

IN the introductory chapter I have endeavoured to trace the progress of the art of coining money, from its origin in Asia Minor to the state which it attained during the zenith of the Roman power; when its general character will be shown in the examples of Roman coins relating to Britain.

I have thought such an introduction necessary to readers previously unacquainted with the subject, because, it otherwise would be difficult to conceive that such an exquisite piece of perfect workmanship as a modern coin, had its prototypes in the rude pieces described in that brief summary.

I have stated that the early ring-money of the East found its way to the West and North at a very early period, where it was still retained long after regular coins were known and used. That ring-money still circulated in Britain in the last century before the Christian era, is proved by the testimony of Cæsar, to be hereafter referred to; and that it was in use in Ireland still more recently, is proved by the continual discovery of rings of that description, of which specimens will be found in Plates 16, and 16 A., some of which are assigned by Betham and other eminent antiquarians to a much later epoch. In Sweden and Norway, indeed, the use of this ring-money continued till a comparatively recent period, as it is mentioned by SNORRO STURLESON in the "*Heimskringla*,"\* or *Chronicles of the Sea Kings of Norway*," written in the 12th century. Therein, Harold Hardrada is spoken of as

"He whom the ravens watch with care,  
He who the *gold rings* does not spare;"

and in another place the King Olaf Haroldson pays the Skald Thormod for his song, with a gold ring weighing half a mark. It appears that there were also rings of a mark and two marks, and some of much greater dimensions. The difference between this ring-money and that which the Egyptian officials are seen weighing in Plate 13, is that the Egyptian rings were not *separately* adjusted to any special weight, and thus belong to the period of weighed money, an earlier phase of monetary progress. The ring-money of Britain and the north-west of Europe was so far in advance of the Egyptian stage, as to have each ring adjusted to a special weight, for which it might pass without

\* See Mr. Laing's interesting translation.

weighing—the ring-money becoming thus closely analogous to true coinage. In Ireland this kind of money appears to have been much more plentiful than in England, as nearly all the specimens in our collections (nearly all of gold) were discovered there.

The following brief account of British ring-money will be found necessary in this place, as immediately preceding the Roman money in England and the Saxon and Anglo-Norman money in Ireland.

The large torques and also armlets worn by the Gauls and other nations, were, as I have previously stated, a kind of "*jewel-money*," being adjusted to a certain weight, to pass as money if required. Cæsar tells us that the Gauls "*use for money gold and iron rings of certain weight*," and makes a similar statement in relation to Britain. The latter (the iron) have all perished by oxidation, but the former are still found in great numbers. To these may be added rings of silver and also brass, each of a graduated weight. The first money rings were probably made in that form to prevent the friction which would take place when carried in a bag, as was customary, either from a straight piece of wire, or angular pieces of metal, which were doubtless the first forms of the metallic medium. The earliest ring-money appears to exemplify this origin, as being always open at one side; being, in fact, pieces of wire, of a certain length, bent round. The two ends, which were at first plain, were in after periods singularly flattened and ornamented,—the transition from the simple piece of wire bent round, to the later decorative forms, being perfectly exhibited in all its stages in a good series of Irish ring-money. The following specimens (Nos. 1 to 9, Plate 16) will illustrate this progress,—No. 1 being the most common form, evidently made from a simple piece of wire, of a certain thickness, bent round, and which had been first cut to such a length as would ensure a particular weight.

Even in this early stage of monetary issues, forgeries occurred, and Sir W. Betham informs us that he has seen counterfeits of brass so neatly plated with gold as to defy detection. It is, indeed, a well-known fact that there were forgeries of the earliest coinages of Greece, the laws of Solon having provided punishment for falsifiers of the public coinage. The earliest ring-money found in Ireland appears to belong to a period when each ring might pass by *tale* instead of *weight*, in a manner analogous to that of true coins; that of earlier periods having been weighed in bulk, as shown in Plate 13.

The smallest rings, upon being weighed by Sir W. Betham, were found to be exactly one half-pennyweight, which appears to have been the unit by which the larger sizes were graduated. There are pieces of one pennyweight twelve grains, equal to three of the half-pennyweight; of two pennyweights twelve grains, equal to five; of five pennyweights, equal to ten; of eleven pennyweights, equal to twenty-two; and, in short, up to twelve ounces, and thirteen ounces seven pennyweights, equal respectively to 486 and 534 of the half-pennyweight ring. There are some others containing fractional thirds, which


Sir W. Betham conjectures may have been so graduated for the convenience of small change. If this is the case, we have in the Irish ring-money a system almost as perfect as that of real coins; which, after all, may be but a modification of it, and for which we may have been indebted to the mere personal vanity of a prince in placing his own signet on the money of the state, for which purpose a solid, round form was evidently more convenient than a ring.

No. 10, Plate 16, is a specimen of the cast brass ring-money, which is an entire ring, and which was also adjusted to a graduated system, founded upon the half-pennyweight as the unit, though I have not seen any of less than the double of that weight. The brass rings are discovered in immense quantities in Ireland, from the weight of one pennyweight to that of several ounces. Many of these rings are found joined together, double and treble, as in the specimen No. 10, Plate 16. The specimens, Nos. 1 to No. 8, Plate ~~X~~ 16, inclusive, will, as stated, exhibit the gradations of fabric which the ring-money assumed—the later and more decorative forms having given rise to the wildest conjectures, as to the use of these objects, by our elder antiquaries.

No. 12, Plate 16, is a group of brass rings looped one within the other, which perhaps exhibits the method of carrying money of this kind. Sir W. Betham, finding the weight of the smaller gold rings correspond to one half-pennyweight, *troy weight*, was led to think that the weight used by the Celtic nations was of the same origin as the troy weight, which he conjectures to have been the standard weight of the Phœnicians, still prevalent in the East as late as the time of the first Crusade, at which period it was again brought to Europe, and first used for all weighed commodities at the great fair of Troyes, in France, from which circumstance it received its modern name.

A kind of ring-money, precisely similar to that of Ireland, is not only found in England, as I have previously mentioned, but also in Scotland. In England, however, its use appears to have been discontinued at a much earlier period, in consequence of the introduction of the fine and convenient coinage of the Roman empire. The specimen, No. 9, Plate 16, weighing fifteen ounces, which, reckoning gold at £4 per ounce, is of the intrinsic value of £60. It was found in a bog in the county of Galway, Ireland, where great numbers have been at different times discovered. No. 8, in the same Plate, is of the intrinsic value of £15, and was also found in Ireland: one of precisely similar shape and weight having been discovered in Scotland in an urn, which was exhibited by Mr. Lethuillier in the year 1731, long before the use of these interesting relics of antiquity had been even guessed at.

Some of the larger specimens of this ring-money are very splendid and curious. I have seen pieces which might be carried most conveniently over one shoulder and under the other. The torque worn round the neck of the Gallic warriors, most frequently of pure gold, and weighing sometimes above four pounds, was of this kind, and was adjusted to a certain weight, as money, in addition to being a personal ornament. One

found at Pattingham, in Staffordshire, in 1700, of fine gold, weighed three pounds two ounces. It was four feet long, very bright and flexible, and could be bent round the arm, the middle, or the neck, and extended again to its former shape with comparative ease. When worn, it was fastened by a simple hook forming each extremity, like those in the specimen No. 1, Plate 16 A. Similar ornaments, as bracelets or anklets, are still worn in several parts of British India, which are also of equally pure gold, and from their extreme ductility can be wrapped round the wrist, and will retain the position in which they are placed without any fastening. No. 1, Plate  which is a portion of a torque of the size of the original, will convey a good idea of the magnitude and form of those ornaments. It is taken from one of bronze, which was discovered in Somersetshire, and engraved in the "Archæologia." Hence it appears that bronze ornaments of this kind were worn as well as gold. This bronze torque is of exactly the same form as the gold ones previously alluded to, but only weighs two pounds. As the Gauls were the first to introduce both the torques and the smaller rings, used as common money, into Europe, it may naturally be supposed that such objects are frequently found in France, which is the case; and some very magnificent specimens have been recently discovered near St. Quentin. These splendid relics, which have unfortunately gone to the crucible, were disintered in 1832—their intrinsic value being equal to £1,089 14s. 1d. Drawings were fortunately made from them, and published in the "Archæologia," specimens from which will be found (on a reduced scale) in Plate 16 A. They are very beautifully wrought, with minute patterns; and some of them weigh upwards of four pounds. They are all without the small hooks at the extremities, their ductility being sufficient to enable the wearer to close them without a fastening. The muscular force, however, required to place the flat ends firmly together, for which purpose they have evidently been intended, must have been very great. One of these ornaments was found so closed, but some antiquarians have thought that they were intended to be worn round the neck, remaining open, in which they differ from the torque. The torque was in fact, as its name imports, a twisted annula of two or more bars, intertwined; while the *μανιακή* mentioned by Pausanias and others, was, on the other hand, solid, and these specimens have, therefore, been termed *μανιακή* in the interesting letter describing them, read to the Society of Antiquarians in February 1836. 16 a

That such ornaments were of very ancient origin, as marks of distinction, insignia of office, etc., is proved by many allusions of ancient authors, and by passages in the sacred writings, where one kind is designated רָבִיד (Rabeed), which literally signifies a twisted chain or wreath; and the Chaldean term *manak* is used to express another similar ornament, the parent perhaps of the *μανιακή*. After the well-known victory of Manlius over the Gaulish chief, and the capture of his torque, which he was allowed to wear, the permission to use such ornaments, as marks of honour, became common

among the Romans, and the "torquati" were a conspicuous portion of the Roman army, forming a kind of legion of honour. The great weight of these torques and manacks, worn as ornaments, appears extraordinary; but the examples cited are nothing to the honorary, or rather tributary, torques sent to Augustus by the Gauls, which weighed 100 pounds. Great numbers of these ornaments are always mentioned by the Romans among *barbara spolia*, after wars with the Gauls and other northern nations, 1,471 being mentioned by Livy as having been taken from the Boii by Cornelius Scipio, and carried to Rome.

That, comparatively speaking, no ornaments or money of this kind should have been found in England, is to be accounted for from the circumstance that Ireland remained independent long after the complete subjugation of Britain by the Romans, where the metallic currency of every kind was in all probability recoined into the form of the national money of Rome. It is also to be observed that no monuments have been discovered to prove that the Irish had any other kind of money than ring-money, as no coins earlier than the period of the Saxon and Danish invasions have been found in that country. The Britons, on the other hand, nearer neighbours of Gaul, had received through that country imitations of the coined money of the Greeks, which was possibly fast displacing the less convenient ring-money, even before the Roman conquest.

We must here dismiss the subject of the ring-money, and enter upon the consideration of the first positive coins of the Britons. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, in speaking of the civilisation of Britain, says—"They have both bronze and gold money, or, instead of money, rings adjusted to a certain weight." In addition to the coins of bronze and gold mentioned by Cæsar, there were also rude coins of tin in existence (Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 1), evidently of native workmanship. These are possibly the earliest British coined money of which we have any example; and tin being the great ancient staple of the island, appears to favour the view of the great antiquity of these coins, which merit a more careful examination than they have hitherto received, leading, as it might do, to the elucidation of the rude and apparently unintelligible figures with which they are impressed. The commencement and termination of this state of the British coinage are left in uncertainty. The coins alluded to by Cæsar were probably of more recent origin than the rude tin money above alluded to, and were without doubt those well-known coins of a decidedly Greek character, which are indeed rude copies of Grecian models, more particularly of the coins of Philip of Macedon. It is conjectured that the treasure brought by the Gauls from Greece, after the pillage of Delphi, in the third century B.C., consisted principally of the above-mentioned coins of Philip, which, getting into general circulation in Gaul as a standard currency, it was found convenient to make other coins as nearly as possible of the same form and value. Other Greek coins, however, had previously made their way to transalpine Gaul, where, as well as these gold Philips, they had been rudely imitated. Among these were the celebrated tetradrachms of











Alexander the Great, the principal type of which was imitated not only in silver, but also in copper. From the close connection of the Gauls and Britons, it may naturally be supposed that in their various dealings many of these Greek coins found their way to Britain, where they were in like manner imitated. The British imitations, however, are quite distinct from the Gaulish, and are never found except in Britain—a sufficient proof of their native origin (see Nos. 3 to 6, Plate 1). Many of them are exceedingly rude, and the resemblance to the originals they were copied from is scarcely to be traced, except by seeing a large collection, in which all the intermediate gradations of rudeness occur: they are in some cases, perhaps, copies of the already bad Gaulish copies. It will be observed that these coins are not somewhat thin and flat, like the Roman money, but thick and *dished*, precisely after the Grecian manner. The inscriptions, however, are generally in the Roman character, from which it would appear that the Britons were in possession of the Roman alphabet previous to their conquest by that people; which is a somewhat singular fact, as the Gauls at that period made use of the Greek alphabet, as may be seen by examination of a series of coins of the Gallic city Nemausus. The principal inscription before the Roman invasion was NAMAΣAT, in Greek characters; which, after the Roman invasion, was changed to NEM. COL., in Roman letters (for NEMAVSI COLONIAE, “Of the colony of Nemausus”). This circumstance should perhaps lead us to infer that of the class of British coins of which we are now treating, only such as have Greek characters belong to the period anterior to the Roman invasion; while those with Roman characters, but still of Greek style of workmanship, are to be assigned to a period between the first invasion and the final subjugation of the island under Claudius.

The following is a list of the coins engraved in Plates 1 and 17, in illustration of British coins of Greek form and style, but generally with Roman characters, and of the early tin coins above alluded to:—

Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 1, are specimens of the rude tin coinage.

No. 3, Plate 1, is thought to be a clumsy copy of the gold Philip, the attempt to imitate the biga, or two-horse chariot of the reverse, being pretty evident, as may be tested by referring to the Philip No. 11, Plate 13.

No. 4, Plate 1, is a larger coin, of somewhat different style, but the laurel wreath on the obverse, and the rude horse on the reverse, appear to show that it was copied from the same model.

No. 5, Plate 1, is a still farther debased attempt, but the laurel may yet be traced.

17 / No. 1, Plate 16, is a coin of similar description, in which the obverse of the coin is left blank, the British engraver seemingly despairing of any copy of the beautiful head of Apollo on the Philip.

11 / No. 2, Plate 16, is a specimen in which the place of the head on the obverse of the original coin is occupied by a barbarous ornament.

17/ In No. 3, Plate 15, the place of the ornament is supplied by a rude attempt at an ear of corn.

No. 5 appears to have on the obverse a rough copy of the head of Alexander on the tetradrachms (see Plate 13, No. 10), while the reverse appears to be still a copy of the biga of the Philips.

It will have been observed that in all the copies of the beautiful type of the biga on the reverse of the Philips, no attempt has been made to reproduce the complication of design involved in the representation of two horses seen one behind the other, the rude imitation being always confined to a single horse, while the wheel of the chariot will be found underneath the horse, or in any other convenient part of the coin, and sometimes omitted altogether; as is also the driver, though occasionally represented by a few crude lines in relief in the form of crescents, etc.

In Gaul the first indication of an effort to nationalise the character of this class of coins was the introduction of the name of the city where they were struck,—first in Greek, and subsequently in Roman characters; and eventually the adoption of national types in lieu of the debased imitation Grecian ones. The coins of Rhotomagus, now Rouen, for instance, had a female head on the obverse, and on the reverse two horses coupled, accompanied by the inscription RATYMACOS. Coins of Tornacum, now Tournaye, had, in like manner, a beardless head on the obverse, with PYRNACOS; and on the reverse a spear, with AVSCRO. Similar changes took place about the same time, or shortly after, in the national coinages of Britain, of which period coins are found bearing the names of British districts or cities.

No. 6, Plate 1, bears the inscription TIGH, which it is thought possible by Mr. Hawkins and other eminent numismatists may be part of Tiguocobac, the ancient native name of Nottingham.

No 4, Plate 15, bears an inscription on the obverse, part of which reads DVMNO, and which has not yet been explained. It is, however, pretty certainly the name of a city or district.

No. 6, Plate 15, has an ear of barley or bearded wheat, no doubt the national symbol of a corn-growing district, and the letters CAMV, without doubt Camulodunum (Colchester).

The next class of this series of British coins, consists of such as bear the names of native princes, and which are probably more recent than those with only the names of cities.

No. 7, Plate 1, has the letters SEGO, part of the name Segonax, one of the four British princes who attacked the camp of Cæsar. On the reverse is TASCIO—which on other coins is extended to TASCIOVAN, no doubt part of the name of Tasciovanus. Sometimes it stands TASCIOVAN.F, which Mr. Birch was the first to interpret as "Tasciovani filius," after the manner of Roman inscriptions—such as that of some of the coins of Augustus Cæsar, "DIVI FILIVS," sometimes written DIVI.F (son of the god) in allusion to the dei-

fication of his adopted father, Julius Cæsar. From the inscription it would seem that Segonax was the son of Tasciovanus. The coins of Segonax have occasionally the title REX added to the name

Besides the four petty princes who attacked his camp, Cæsar also speaks of Comius as another prince possessing considerable influence. And coins exist which may fairly be attributed to his immediate successors, especially those bearing the name of Epillus, which frequently stands EPILLVS COMI.F, for EPILLVS COMII FILIVS—"Epillus the son of Comius." Other coins exist with the abbreviated names VIR and TINC, often followed by COMI.F, which may probably be attributed to other children of the same Comius. The coins of Epillus, which have a horseman, accompanied by the name, on the obverse, have frequently a victory on the reverse, copied perhaps from the gold staters of Alexander.

No. 8, Plate 1, is a coin of the British prince Cunobeline, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare. It bears a head, which may possibly be the portrait of this prince, though by some considered to be a head of Apollo, in the Roman style.

No. 7, Plate 17, is another coin of Cunobeline, which retains more of the style of the older coins, having the horse, of the biga type, much better executed, with a portion of his name beneath, CVNO—the reverse having the type, and part of the name, of Camulodunum. As his dominions extended over Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and much of the country westward in the direction of the Severn, they necessarily comprised the city of Camulodunum, which was perhaps his capital.

This prince is said to have visited Rome, in the reign of Augustus, and to have brought back Roman artists to superintend his coinage, which appears to be borne out by the style and execution of his coins, and many of their devices, which are of Roman character, though still retaining the general Greek form and weight.

Nos. 8 and 9, Plate 17, are examples of his Romanised coins. The last has a figure of Apollo on the obverse, with CV—and on the reverse the word SOLIDO, which, though this coin is silver, he may have adopted from the term Solidus, occasionally given to the principal gold coin of Rome, the aureus; though it is generally thought the term Solidus was not known in the Roman coinage till a much later period. Some of his coins have a figure of Hercules, very fairly executed in the Roman style, and there are many other types, which are found both in silver and copper. His gold was generally confined to the more ancient style of type. It may here be observed that these British princes, though paying tribute to Rome, were, up to the reign of Claudius, independent sovereigns.

The name of Tasciovanus, found on the coins of Segonax, occurs also on those of Cunobeline, on one of the best-known types, that of the helmeted head, with the name of Cunobelinus in full. The reverse has the inscription TASCIOVANI F, beneath which is the Gallic type, the wild boar. From this cir-

cumstance, coupled with the fact that the name of Tasciovanus is not mentioned by British historians, it has been supposed that the name is rather a Gallic than a British one; and it is well known that many of the British chiefs were of Gallic origin. It would appear, however, that Tasciovanus, even if of Gallic descent, and using the ancient Gallic symbol on his coinage, was probably a prince holding dominion in Britain, and that the capital of his principality was Verulamium, the modern St. Albans, as will be seen by the coin next described.

No. 8, Plate 17, is a silver coin, having a horse for its principal type, with the letters TASCIA, evidently a portion of the name of Tasciovanus or Tasciavanus. On the reverse are the letters VER, which are probably part of the name of Verulamium. These letters are sometimes extended to VERLAMIO, which may possibly be the name of the city, placed in the ablative case, as "by Verulamium," after the manner adopted on Celtiberian coins of the period, intended to express that the coins were struck BY the city whose name they bore.

After the complete submission of the whole western portion of the island to the Romans, in the reign of Claudius, the native coins disappeared, and the general coinage of Rome alone circulated throughout the whole of the Romanised portion of Britain; but it seems that on some of the attempts made by native chiefs to regain their ancient independence, coins were again struck of the ancient character; such, for instance, as the one attributed to Boadicea, about to be described.

No. 9, Plate 1, is a gold coin attributed to the unfortunate Boadicea, who, on raising the standard of rebellion against the tyranny of the Roman governor, may have struck money in the manner of the ancient princes of the country, in token of her sovereign right. Striking money was one of the first acts of many of the ephemeral emperors of Rome at a later period, coins being known of emperors whose tenure of power did not extend beyond a few days. The pieces attributed to Boadicea have the ancient biga type in one of its rudest forms for the obverse, and on the reverse the letters BODVO, the name being, perhaps, originally written Boduodicea, corrupted at a later period to Boadicea. This is the more probable, as we find Cæsar speaking of a Gallic prince, Epasactus, whose name on his coins stands EPADNACTVS. The object beneath the horse on some of the coins of Boadicea has been supposed to represent a fallen Roman soldier, and may relate to some partial victory.

#### COINS OF THE ROMANS RELATING TO BRITAIN.\*

The forty-second year of our era was marked by the almost complete sub-

\* In this short chapter on the coins of the Romans in England, I am greatly indebted to the labours of Mr. T. D. Hardy, and to the beautiful Work of Mr. Akerman, which should be in the hands of every one interested in the subject.

jugation of the southern parts of the island, by the Emperor Claudius, and from that time the coinage of Rome became the current money of Britain, coins of nearly all the emperors being found in considerable numbers in all parts of the country. But the subject of the general coinage of Rome being beyond the scope of this work, it is only such Roman coins as bear especial relation to this country, either by their inscriptions or devices, or such as may be supposed to have been actually minted in Britain, that I shall attempt to describe; though to enter rather more largely upon the subject of Roman coins would be very attractive, from the Roman custom of commemorating their greatest achievements upon their common current money. "If," says Gibbon, "history was lost to us, medals and inscriptions would alone record the travels of Hadrian." From this custom many events connected with Britain are recorded on the coins of Rome, which thus become most interesting relics connected with our early history.

It is not supposed by archæologists that Roman mints were established in any part of the island before the time of Constantine, though such existed in many of the principal continental cities at an earlier period, from which most likely the money circulated in Britain was derived. The independent usurpers, Carausius and Allectus, however, during their complete separation from the Continent, no doubt struck their money in Britain.

It would be impossible, in the compass of this work, to describe all the Roman coins that bear reference to Britain; but a selection in their proper succession will afford a very complete general idea of the subject.

The first allusion to Britain on a Roman coin occurs in the well-known instances of those of Claudius. No. 10, Plate 1, was struck in commemoration of the erection of the triumphal arch decreed to him by the Senate on the conquest of Britain, and minted, it is supposed, in A. D. 46, four years after that event. It has the laureated head of the Emperor, with the inscription (abbreviated) TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AUG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI.—intended to read, "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Potestate nonum, Imperator decimum sextum;" which may be translated, "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, holding the office of Pontifex Maximus (or High Pontiff), holding the Tribunitian Power for the ninth time, and Imperator for the sixteenth time." To the tyro in numismatic inscriptions, it may be here explained, that the holding of the tribunitian power referred to, is the periodical investiture of the emperor with the nominal power of the ancient tribunes of the people, then become an empty title; and that "imperator for the sixteenth time" refers to the well-known historical fact, that the first emperors, or imperators, were not declared imperators for life, but only for a certain period, after the manner of the ancient dictatorship; such declarations being, however, servilely renewed by the Senate at the expiration of each period. These renewals are thus recorded on the coinage till the title became hereditary. The reverse of



this coin is a triumphal arch surmounted by an equestrian statue between trophies, no doubt a representation of the one decreed by the Senate.

No. 14, Plate 1, is a coin struck in honour of the young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, who received his surname when an infant, at the time it was conferred upon his father, on the subjugation of Britain. This coin was not struck in a Roman mint, but by a tributary sovereign in the East. The kings of the Bosphorus had, since the reign of Augustus, placed the head of the reigning Roman emperor on one side of their coins in token of subservience to the power of Rome. But Cotys, not deeming this amount of adulation sufficient, placed the head of a Roman emperor on each side of his gold coins, reserving to himself little more than the mere initials of his name, very inconspicuously placed. In this way the head of Claudius, his first protector, occupies the obverse, and the reigning emperors in succession, down to Vitellius, the reverse. On his copper coinage, however, he appears to have, occasionally, retained the privilege of placing his own portrait—as in the present example, where it occupies the obverse, with the inscription ΒΑ.ΚΟ, in form of a monogram, then common on Asiatic coins, for βασιλεὺς Κοτύς—"Of King Cotys," implying, "Money of King Cotys." On the reverse is the portrait of Britannicus, with the inscription in Greek, like that of the king, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΥ, "Cæsar Britannicus," the square *sigma* being used instead of Σ, as was common in nearly all Greek inscriptions of the period.

No farther allusions to Britain occur on the Roman coinage till the reign of Hadrian, during whose visits to the vast and various provinces of the Roman empire, Britain was not forgotten—to which several inscriptions on his coins bear witness. Mr. Akerman has cited four instances in which types referring to Britain occur on the "first brass,"—that is, the sestertius, the largest copper coin of the empire. The most remarkable is the one evidently struck to commemorate his arrival, being similar to those issued on his arrival in Cilicia, Gaul, and other provinces. It has on the reverse, the inscription ADVENTVS. AVG BRITANNIAE, for "Adventus Augusti Britanniae." (See No. 11, Plate 1.)

No. 12, Plate 17, has been engraved, as showing the figure which has since formed the model for the Britannia on our modern halfpence. The obverse of this coin, which I have not engraved, has merely the laureated head of the emperor, accompanied by the titles in the usual form; but the reverse, shown in the engraving, has a female figure seated on a rock, and holding a spear. Some consider this figure a personification of Britain—in short, Britannia; while others suppose it to be Roma, though without the usual attributes, symbolising the act of taking full possession of the country. But the figure, evidently allegorical in character, would seem rather, as armed and in a position of repose, to imply peace—after a successful campaign, such as that undertaken at this time against the Caledonians; the inscription "Britannia" referring to the scene of action, rather than to the figure. It was, however,

long considered to be a figure of Britannia, and in the semi-classical taste of the time of Charles II., served as the model for the figure of Britannia, then placed upon the first copper coinage of England, the beautiful Frances Stuart, however, as it is said, being the model for the details, especially the leg, which was undraped in the design then adopted. (See No. 12, Plate 17.)

No. 15, Plate 17, is the reverse of a copper coin (first brass) of Antoninus Pius; it bears for type a victory descending upon a globe—in reference perhaps to the peace established after his victory over the north British tribe, the Brigantes. The inscription is simply IMPERATOR II, "imperator for the second time," and s.c. for "Senatus Consulto" (By decree of the Senate). Across the field, however, is BRITAN, an abbreviation of "Britannia," which at once establishes the province to which the type refers.

Nos. 13 and 14, Plate 17, are the obverse and reverse of another coin of this emperor. The obverse is simply a portrait with a radiated crown, and the usual titles; the reverse has for type, a female figure in an attitude of dejection—perhaps representing a province in which rebellion has been recently subdued by force of arms, as a military standard and shield are placed in front of the figure. The inscription is BRITANNIA. COS. IIII. The last portion of the inscription recording the fourth honorary consulship of the emperor.

No. 14, Plate 17, is a noble medallion of Commodus. The inscription stands M. COMMODY. ANTONINUS. AUG. PIUS. BRIT., and reads, "M. Commodus Antoninus Augustus Britannicus." Commodus, as we learn from Herodian, was ambitious of the surname of Britannicus; and after some victories over the Caledonians by the Roman commander in Britain, he assumed that name on his coins, though he never personally visited the island. On the reverse of this coin the inscription stands BRITANNIA P. M. T R. P. X. IMP. COS. IIII., and reads, "Britannia, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Potestate decimum, Imperator, Consul quartum," and on the shield of the figure of victory is inscribed S. P. Q. R. VICTORIA BRITANNICÆ. This fine medallion is in the national collection of France.

The next allusion to Britain occurs on the coins of the war-loving Septimus Severus, who died at York, in A.D. 211, urging his generals (the ruling passion strong in death) to prosecute the war then raging with the Caledonians, till they were *exterminated*.

No. 13, Plate 1, is a large brass coin of this emperor, with a tolerably well executed head, which, though the last great era of Roman art, that of the Antonines, was fast waning, still exhibits considerable grandeur of style. The reverse has two winged victories, attaching a circular buckler to a palm, at the foot of which are captives. Some have supposed the two figures to indicate two different victories, others that of a victory of Severus shared by his son. The inscription of the obverse of this coin stands, SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG., and reads "Septimus Severus Pius Augustus;" the reverse has "Victoria Britannicæ." The coins of Caracalla are also good

specimens of art, and especially interesting as exhibiting in their types the narrow shields, supposed to represent the "*scutus Augustus*" of the Britons, mentioned by Herodian.

No. 15, Plate 17, is a large coin of Caracalla. The inscription stands, *M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG.*, which reads, "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus;" for the name of Caracalla never appears upon his coins, and that of Aurelius, which he assumed, has led to some mistakes, by amateurs, in the attribution of coins, though its appearance on the coins of Caracalla is well known to numismatists. The portrait however, might always be a sufficient indication of the coins of Caracalla, as it is well executed and peculiarly marked in feature. The type of the reverse is, two victories erecting a trophy, and the inscription *VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE*. Both the gold and silver coins of this emperor have similar inscriptions referring to Britain.

No. 16, Plate 17, is a silver coin of Geta, the brother of Caracalla, and for sometime associated with him in the government of the empire. The inscription of the obverse is, *P. SEPT. GETA. PIUS. AVG. BRIT.*, which reads "Publius Septimus Geta Pius Augustus Britannicus;" the last name having been awarded to him by the senate in consequence of his share in the victories of his father over the north Britons. Coins are found also with the inscription "*Victoriae Augustorum*"—"The victories of the Augustuses," alluding to the period when Caracalla and Geta were associated in the government of the empire.

There are coins in the British Museum evidently struck during the joint power of these princes, bearing the portraits of both, but from which that of Geta is erased; apparently an act of unprincipled adulation of the tyrant Caracalla, by the Asiatic city where these coins were struck, after his fratricidal murder of Geta.

The coins of the usurper Postumus are frequently found in England, as are the smaller brass coins of Victorinus, and also those of Marius. Fabricius, holding supreme power in Spain and Gaul for some years, issued a large number of coins bearing his name and effigy, parcels of which are frequently found in England, though there is no allusion to the name of Britain upon them, or indeed on any of the coins noticed in this paragraph.

The reign of Dioclesian is a remarkable epoch in Roman history, on account of the changes that took place in the general administration; the innovations in matters connected with the coinage being very considerable. Among other monetary reforms, provincial mints were established about this time for supplying the distant provinces with coin, which, throughout the western portion of the empire, had hitherto been exclusively supplied by the mints of Rome, in which, in the reign of Aurelius, more than 20,000 workmen were employed. The new mints that were organised about the reign of Dioclesian, if not by him, as is supposed, were established as far north as Treves,

where a vast number of coins were issued in subsequent reigns. The coins of Treves have P. TR. in the exergue, for "Pecunia Treveris"—"Money of Treves." There were also several mints established in Gaul, besides the principal one which was at Lugdunum (Lyons); and even in Britain, where money was thenceforward coined with the letters P. LON. or M.L., for "Pecunia Londinensis," or "Moneta Londinensis," and some with LON, which must be "Londinum." Coins with this inscription, of the second brass of Dioclesian, have been engraved by Banduri, which some, however, assign to the Lyons mint—interpreting the three letters as "Lugdunum Officina Nono," "Lugdunum, of the Ninth Office,"—but this is a strained interpretation. A coin of Maximin has the exergual letters ML. The coins of Constantius Chlorus, however, who died at York, have no letters of this description. Of far greater interest than any of these are the undoubtedly *British* coins of the usurper Carausius, a bold soldier, who in the reign of Maximianus, taking advantage of holding the command of the Roman fleet at Boulogne, escaped with it to Britain, where he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the people, and grasping the sovereignty of the island. He successfully defied the whole Roman power from A.D. 287 to 293, when he was assassinated by his minister, Allectus, who succeeded to the supreme authority in Britain, which he held for three years, being finally subdued by the Roman præfect Asclepiodotus, who, arriving with a considerable force which had been three years in preparation, encountered this second usurper, and defeated his army with great slaughter; Allectus himself perishing in the conflict. Of the coins of Carausius we have many interesting types, of which Mr. Akerman has given a great variety in his interesting and instructive work; among others, one from the fine collection of Mr. Thomas, having the bust of the emperor with the paludamentum, and the inscription (abbreviated) "Imperator Carausius Pius Felix Augustus;" on the reverse, the emperor, bareheaded, joins hands with a female who holds a trident; below are the letters RS. R., the meaning of which is uncertain, but the signification of the figures is more clear—the female is undoubtedly the genius of Britain amicably receiving the new emperor, who flatters her (for the first time probably) as "queen of the sea," by placing a trident in her hand. Carausius seems also to have been the first to perceive the importance of the position of these islands, near to the centre of Europe, and yet separated and fortified by the barrier of the sea; to express which his coins have sometimes a ship on the reverse. Others have "Moneta (Juno)," with her attributes; and a rare gold coin, purchased by the late Mr. Cracherode for £150, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum, has under the figure of Jupiter the letters M.L., supposed to imply "Moneta Londinensis."

No. 15, Plate 1, is a copper coin of Carausius, the spelling of whose name was first accurately ascertained from this series of coins.

No. 16, Plate 1, is a coin of his treacherous successor, Allectus. He also seems to have been fully aware of the importance of the insular position of

Britain, and of its natural arm—shipping, for he, too, placed a ship on the reverse of many of his coins. It has been supposed, however, that the ship was merely the favourite Roman emblem of the state; but the former theory offers more interest, though it is perhaps scarcely tenable; for a ship forms also the arms of the city of Paris, and in that instance certainly no allusion to a fleet, or the importance of shipping to the city, could be implied. But these are mere hypotheses, the “ship” being, perhaps, in both cases merely the Roman emblem of the state. There are coins of Allectus, of gold, silver, and brass of the small size; the busts of the emperor being, like those of Carausius,\* sharply executed, and having so marked a character that they may doubtless be considered portraits. The specimen (No. 16) has the bust of the emperor, with IMP. C. ALLECTVS PIV. FEL. AVG., which reads, “Imperator C. Allectus Pius felicitas Augustus” (or Augusti). Several varieties of the coins of Allectus exist, of which Mr. Hardy has given examples and accurate descriptions.

No 17, Plate 1, is a small brass coin of Constantine the Great, apparently struck in England,—the P. LON in the exergue, being considered by most antiquarians to be “Pecunia Londinensis.” On the obverse, the emperor is represented wearing a helmet, accompanied by the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG., for “Constantinus Augustus”—on the reverse two captives are represented, and between them a Roman labarum or banner, inscribed VOT. XX.; in the exergue is the PLON above referred to.

No. 19, Plate 17, is another brass coin of Constantine. The head on the obverse is simply laureated, with the same legends as the coin just described. The reverse has a victory trampling on a captive, and the legend SARMATIA DEVICTA; with P. LON. in the exergue, for “Pecunia Londinensis.” Neither this type, nor that of the previously described coin, refer to events occurring in Britain; indeed the Romans appear to have ceased to commemorate British victories, or other events, after the time of Caracalla. The legend “Sarmatia Devicta” refers to a victory over the Sauromatæ, on the confines of the Palus Mæotis.

The coins of Constantine and those members of his family to be next described, may, it is thought, be confidently referred to a Roman mint in London, as the letters PLON in the exergue are of precisely similar character to those indicating the coinage of money in the continental mints at the same period, as P. TR. for “Pecunia Treveris,” (“Money of Treves”). The money of the mint of Lyons (Lugdunum), the only Roman mint beginning with the same letter as London, is always marked with the letter L only, and large quantities so marked are continually found in its neighbourhood, while those marked P. LON are very rarely found out of England, which appears to substantiate the correctness of the attribution of the coins of

\* Mr. Akerman enumerates of the coins of Carausius five varieties in gold, fifty in silver, and upwards of two hundred and fifty in small brass. Mr. Hardy has added many more.

Constantine marked M LON and P LON, to London. Some antiquaries, indeed, consider that London was not the only Roman mint in England about this period, and refer the coins of Carausius, marked c in the exergue, to Clausentum, a Romanised city or station near Southampton, on the site of which coins so stamped are frequently found.

Coins of Fausta, daughter of Maximianus, and wife of Constantine, are found with the London mint-marks; one also is known of her daughter Helena Juliani.

No. 20, Plate 17, is a coin of Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, struck after his appointment as Cæsar, or sub-emperor. The inscription round the portrait on his English coins stands CRISPVS. NOBIL. C., for "Crispus Nobilissimus Cæsar;" sometimes preceded by FL. IVL., for "Flavius Julius." The reverse of the coin I have engraved, has an altar, with the inscription VOTIS. XX., and the legend BEAT TRANQUILITAS, for "Beata Tranquilitas," in allusion to the general peace which prevailed during a portion of the reign of Constantine the Great. In the exergue it has the usual P. LON.

Constantinus II. The coins of this Prince struck in Britain, resemble in general character those of Constantine and Crispus.

The same may be said of the British coins of his brother Constantius, which, however, are extremely rare, and are the last Roman coins bearing any reference to this island.

The Roman coinage, however, continued doubtless to circulate in Britain till the final abandonment of the country, about A.D. 414, and for some time afterwards; and, indeed, its complete disappearance at last, leaving no vestige of its relative values, names, or inscriptions, and but very little even of some of its designs, appears inexplicable, after having formed the sole currency of the island during certainly four, and perhaps nearly five centuries; for the Saxon *sheattæ*, and the silver pennies that succeeded them, forming the sole coin of the island for many centuries, offer scarcely any reminiscence—in form, value, or denomination—of the coinage of Rome, which was still in many respects fine, even in its decadence.

Such is a brief review of the connection of the Roman coinage with Britain, for the materials of which I am chiefly indebted to the extensive series engraved in the "Monumenta Historia Britannica," of Petrie and Sharpe, under the direction and editorship of Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., and also to the excellent treatise of Mr. Akerman. In the former work the examples of different types of the usurpers Carausius and Allectus extend to between three and four hundred.

No. 10, Plate 17, has been introduced for the purpose of showing the first type, and the usual appearance and size of the principal Roman silver coin, the *denarius*; and No. 11, for the purpose of exhibiting the size of the *aureus*, or principal gold coin, afterwards termed the *solidus*. No. 17 shows equally the usual size of the first brass—No. 13, the second—and No. 18, the third.

## CHAPTER III.

## COINS OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

## THE SKEATTÆ.

THE departure of the Roman legions about A. D. 414, left the inhabitants of Southern Britain an easy prey to the first bold invaders. But before the Saxon occupation of the island it may be presumed that some sort of coinage, in imitation of the Roman, to which the people had been long accustomed, must have been adopted, and traces of it, in fact, exist in those rude pieces of the Roman style, which are now becoming very scarce, as they have hitherto been rejected by cabinets as merely bad specimens or forgeries of Roman coin.

The earliest Saxon money of which we have any examples is of a totally different character, bearing not the slightest resemblance to the Roman, with the exception of one or two devices, copied perhaps from some of the coins of Constantine. It appears, therefore, that it must have been brought into this country by the Saxons, along with a new set of weights, values, and denominations.

The coins alluded to are called Skeattæ (Latinised *scata*), a term which Ruding derives from a Saxon word, meaning a portion, and supposes that these coins were a portion of some merely nominal sum by which large amounts were calculated. They probably remained in partial use long after the general adoption of the Saxon silver penny, as they are mentioned in the laws of Æthelstan, where it is stated that 30,000 skeattæ are equal to £120, which would make them in value about one twenty-fifth part less than a penny.

The skeatta is probably, in form and value, an imitation of the Byzantine quinarius, finding its way, in gradually debasing forms, from Constantinople through the east and north of Germany.\* It is thought by some that the Saxons also derived their weight, called Colonia (Cologne) weight, from the Greeks of the Lower Empire. It was only used by them for their money, and afterwards in England called Tower weight, in consequence of the principal mint being in the Tower. Troy weight, so called from being first used at Troyes in France, is three-quarters of an ounce more than Tower weight; so that in coining, the prince, or other privileged person, gained considerably

\* A work has been published (by Mr. Till), with a view to trace the direct descent of the English silver penny from the Roman denarius, through the coins of the Lower Empire and the skeattæ, which were possibly, as I have stated, the half denarius, or quinarius.











upon every pound weight of metal coined, which at last induced frequent re-coinages; to obtain the discontinuance of which custom the people agreed to a tax called "moneyage." Such impositions formed part of what was in Norman times called seignorage, or the profit of the sovereign.

As the skeattæ vary from twelve to twenty grains in weight, it is difficult to ascertain their current value. My examples, and indeed most of the skeattæ, are of very debased art, and the production, probably, of several distinct invading colonies in different parts of the island, some, perhaps, being of foreign importation. The art displayed on them became gradually worse after their first appearance; and one case may be mentioned, in which a head, tolerably distinct at first, became gradually so barbarous as to be mistaken by some for a rude imitation of the Roman type of the wolf and twins; the whole connecting series, however, may be seen in the British Museum, showing the well-connected links of decadence. Ruding and Clark have stated that the art exhibited on coins up to the eighth century was not better on the Continent than in England; but I could point out several examples of far superior art of a Roman, or rather Romano-Gallic, character in France during that period. Many skeattæ are without inscription at all, others unintelligible—some without Christian emblems, others with; but the following are a few of the most striking types, which will serve to give a general idea of the whole:—No. 1, Plate 2, has a profile surrounded by a pretty interlaced band; the reverse, the Christian emblems of the dove and cross. No. 2 has curious but unintelligible ornamental devices on both sides. No. 6, on the contrary, is a decided copy of the type of a common coin of Constantine—Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. No. 4 has been supposed also to represent, more rudely, the same subject, whilst it is but the debased head above alluded to; which, by a still more unskilful re-copy, has been transformed, in No. 5, into a bird. No. 3 has an animal similar to those introduced in the interlacing of Anglo-Saxon illuminations in MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries, and on the reverse a figure holding in each hand a cross—a device common on late Roman coins.\* No. 7 is an interesting specimen, as bearing a name, supposed to be that of Ethelbert I., king of Kent, which would place it in the sixth century, and before the introduction of Christianity; indeed, it bears no Christian emblem. On one side is the debased form of the head before alluded to, which but few would be able to distinguish without comparing the whole series. Specimens of skeattæ are scarce, yet many exist in good collections.

#### SILVER PENNIES.

The description of the authentic coins of the Heptarchy—that is, such as can at once be assigned to the respective princes whose effigies and superscrip-

\* Figures in this style are also found on early Danish coins.

tions they bear—brings us at once upon the interesting series of silver pennies, which formed the only money of the country (with occasional halfpennies) up to the reign of Edward III.,\* the origin of which may be most conveniently referred to in this place.

On the origin of the word “penny,” Ruding says, “It is variously spelt; as peneg, peninc, etc., and some derive it from the Latin word *pendo*, to weigh; while others consider that *pecunia*† is the parent word. It was intended that a pound, Tower, should make 240 pennies, giving 24 grains each; but this weight was gradually decreased by the successive princes, 22½ grains being afterwards deemed full weight, and 20 being about the average weight down to Henry III. Their standard purity seems to have been 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, and 11 dwts. alloy. The name of the moneyer, or mint-master, of the district in which the piece was coined, was now (about 700 A.D.) generally placed on the reverse, with some ornament; as afterwards the name of the place of mintage.

#### COINS OF THE KINGS OF KENT.

The long series of coins of the princes of the Heptarchy are the most interesting monuments of the period, remaining to us. Of those of the kings of Kent, from the accession of Ethelbert, A. D. 568, to the end of the reign of Baldred, 823, I have engraved five specimens. The first (No. 7, Plate 2) is the silver skeatta of Ethelbert I., previously referred to, which having no symbol of the cross in any part, is presumed to have been coined before A. D. 606, the period of the introduction of Christianity. It has on one side *ETHILID*, surrounded with three circles of beading, and on the other the debased head, formerly supposed to be a “bird” or “the wolf,” etc., etc. Only three or four of these rare coins are known; the British Museum having one. No other well-authenticated Kentish coin occurs till after A. D. 725, when a coin of Ethelbert II.—supposed to be a penny—occurs (No. 8, Plate 2); which, if so, is the first silver penny known. The inscription is *ETHILBERHT II.*; but its genuineness has been doubted. The next of the series are the silver pennies of Eadbert (A. D. 794 to 798), the earliest known with the exception of the previous doubtful coin. The Eadbert pennies (No. 9, Plate 2) have the king’s name, and the title *REX* in three lines, and on the reverse the moneyer’s name, with an ornament. Their authenticity is undoubted.

\* The stycas of Northumberland form an exception; but they are mostly earlier than the period referred to.

† *Pecunia*, as is well known, meant cattle as well as mone (see Introduction, page 19), and was frequently used in denoting any possessions whatever; the English word cattle has the same double meaning, being cattles, or chattles. Mandeville, the old English traveller, in describing the Holy Land, says, speaking of the redemption:—“For more precyous *catelle* ne gretter ransom ne might be put for us than his blessedde body,” etc. The traveller mentions that even in his day the Chinese had positively a paper currency—a singular proof of the great antiquity of their commercial civilisation.

Nos. 10 and 11, Plate 2, are coins of Cuthred (A. D. 794 to 798); No. 10 has the king's bust, and *Cudred Rex Cant.*, *Cantiæ* (Kent); reverse, a cross, with a small wedge in each angle, and the moneyer's name. All the coins of Cuthred are pennies, and there are four types of them, all rare, except those with the head, the style of which has evidently been suggested by debased Roman coins.

No. 12, Plate 2, is a coin of Baldred. This last king of Kent was subdued by Egbert, A.D. 823. It has the king's bust rudely done, and *Baldred Rex. Cant.*: the reverse, in the centre, has *DRVR. CITS.* for "Dorovernia Civitas" (Canterbury), and is the earliest known Saxon coin with the place of mintage upon it. There are other types of the coins of this king, all rare.

#### KINGS OF MERCIA.

Of the South and West Saxons no well authenticated coins have been found, but of the kings of Mercia a fine series exists, all silver pennies. No. 13, Plate 2, is a coin of Eadwald (A.D. 716), supposed by some to be the same as Ethelwald. Nos. 14 and 15, are silver pennies of Offa (A.D. 757), whose coins are among the most interesting and beautiful of the Saxon series; the heads are much better executed, with some attention to variety of relief; and the designs on the reverses very elegant and various, for the period. It is supposed that his reported residence at Rome, in the pontificate of Adrian, possibly bringing back Italian artists, may account for this superiority. No. 14, Plate 2, is selected as a specimen, as having the king's bust, and an inscription reading, "Offa Rex;" some have "Rex Merciorum." The moneyers' names on his coins are above forty. There are also silver pennies, but rare, supposed to be of Cynethryth, the queen of Offa, having "Cynethryth Regina" on the reverses. (No. 16, Plate 2). They are evidently of the same period as those of Offa. On the coins of Offa, the moneyer's name sometimes occupies the obverse, but that of the king is then transferred to the reverse, and never omitted. Ecgberht, the son of Offa, A.D. 796, survived his father only six months; yet there are pennies with his name, having the same moneyers' names as those of his father.

Coenwlf, A.D. 796 to 818. The pennies of this king present a great variety of types, evidently copied from those of Offa, but becoming gradually more and more rude in execution. Ceolwlf, A.D. 819, succeeded, and reigned only a year. There is great difficulty in separating his coins from those of Ciolwlf, A.D. 874, and assigning the proper coins to each, which has formed a delicious field for the discussions of numismatists. Of Beornwulf, who reigned from 820 to 824, a few pennies are known, but they are very rare. Of Ludica, from 824 to 825, and Wiglaf, from 825 to 839, the coins are very barbarous, and those of Wiglaf extremely rare; the specimen in the Museum was once sold for £12. Those of Berthulf, A.D. 839 to 852, much in the same style, are not so rare; and those of Burgred, A.D. 852 to 874, the last of the Mercian princes, who reigned two-and-twenty years, are more numerous than

any of his predecessors'. When driven from his dominions by the Danes, he escaped to the Continent, and retired to Rome, where he died, and was interred in St. Mary's church, belonging to the English school established in that city. The coinage of Mercia had gradually declined from the reign of Offa, and Burgred's are the worst of the series.

The coins of Burgred have generally a small rude head, surrounded by "Burgred Rex," and on the reverse the moneyer's name, etc., etc. On the expulsion of Burgred, his minister Ciowlf seized the reins of government, but held them but for a short time, when his expulsion terminated the independence of Mercia. Nevertheless, he struck coins, which I have alluded to as being confounded with those of Ceolwlf; but, with the exception of the name, they are much more like those of Burgred.

All these were silver pennies, and intended to weigh about twenty-two and a half grains.

#### KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES.

The earliest coins of the East Angles, are those of Beonna, about A.D. 750, contemporary with Offa, king of Mercia. His coins were of the form, size, and appearance of skeattæ, and the king's name is sometimes written in Roman and sometimes in Runic characters, as on the specimen given: No. 17, Plate 2, which reads, "Beonna Rex;" the reverse has the name of Efe, the moneyer. There is a coin in the Museum, with the name of Beonna on one side, and that of Ethelred, who succeeded him, on the other; from which it would seem that he had previously occupied the throne conjointly with Beonna. The history of the East Angles, in the early part of the 9th century, is very obscure; but there appears some ground for considering Ethelweard,\* of whom some coins exist, a prince of this district. There is also a unique coin of Beorthric, a prince of whom no record exists, and who is probably one of the unknown kings of the East Angles. Eadmund, A.D. 855 to 870, who was murdered by the Danes, and afterwards honoured with canonisation, is commonly called St. Eadmund. He is generally styled "Rex," or "Rex A.," or An., and eighteen of his moneyers' names are known. No. 18, Plate 2, is one of his coins, having the name of Eadmund, with the title "Rex," and an A. in the centre; and on the reverse, the moneyer's name, and a cross, etc., etc.

After the death of Eadmund, Guthram (a Dane) was placed on the throne, who, being converted to Christianity, was baptised by the name of Ethelstan, A.D. 878. His name is generally found on his coins without title, but sometimes with "Re" or "Rex;" on one coin, which is very rare, "Rex Ang." (for Angliæ) appears on the reverse, instead of the moneyer's name, which is the first time the title of "King of England" appears on a coin (unless St. Eadmund's "Rex A." may be also so interpreted); for though Egbert, king of the West Saxons, subdued nearly the whole of South Britain between A.D.

\* Hawkins's Silver Coins of England, page 34.

800 and 837, and gave the name of *England* to his territories, it does not appear on his coins. No. 19, Plate 2, is a coin of Ethelstan.

Only one prince, Eohric, succeeded Ethelstan in East Anglia, and there are no coins known of his reign. He was expelled by his subjects, and his dominions added to those of Eadward the Elder, the son of Ælfred the Great.

#### KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

The principal distinctive feature in the Northumberian coins is their metal; it is commonly termed copper, but is in fact a composition, whether accidental or intentional is unknown, containing, in one hundred parts, sixty to seventy of copper, twenty to twenty-five of zinc, five to eleven of silver, with minute portions of gold, lead, and tin. These coins are termed *stycas*, a name supposed to be derived from the Saxon *sticce*, "a minute part," two being equal to one farthing. Small money must have been wanted everywhere in times when an ox was sold for thirty pennies, and a sheep for one shilling, as was the case in the reign of Æthelstan; yet it appears that these *stycas* were confined to Northumberland. They form the great bulk of the early Northumbrian coinage, but there were also *skeattæ* of the usual purity of silver, and eventually silver pennies of the same weight and purity as the Saxon money of the other parts of the island. One would expect in this remote part of the country to find a greater degree of barbarism in the execution of the coins; but in the earlier portion of the period during which coins exist, which extends from A.D. 670 to A.D. 945, some of them are quite equal to those of more southern districts, with the sole exception of the coins of Offa; and perhaps we need not be surprised, when we consider the monastic establishments of the period in that part of the island, whose artistic skill was exhibited as early as the seventh century, in such wonderful works of illumination as those contained in the magnificent MS. known as "The Durham Book." A series of Northumbrian coins exists, occupying a great portion of the period above named; but to some of them, from the blundering in the writing of the names on the coins, and other difficulties, it is not easy to assign a proper place.

The earliest known coin of this series (No. 20, Plate 2), is a *styca* of Egfrith, from A.D. 670 to 685, celebrated for his patronage of the church, and religious establishments for disseminating the light of truth, which seems to have been symbolised on this remarkable coin, which bears a cross surrounded by "Ecgfrid Rex," whilst the reverse has a cross from which emanate rays of light surrounded by the word "Lux" (light). Aldfrid reigned from A.D. 685 to A.D. 705, and there are two coins, one a *skeatta* of silver, and the other a *styca*, which are supposed to be of his coinage.\*

\* The *skeatta* is in the collection of Mr. Cuff, the *styca* in that of Mr. Luxcombe.—*Hawkins's Silver Coins.*



Of Eadbert, from A.D. 737 to 758, there are coins which have hitherto been assigned to Ecgberht, king of Kent.

Of Alchred, 737 to 774, there is a supposed coin; and in the list of Northumbrian kings the name of Elfwald occurs from 779 to 788, to whom Mr. Hawkins is induced to attribute three coins of different readings, all evidently corrupt and blundered (as is frequently the case on coins of this period). One, in the collection of Mr. Cuff, reads *ETIVATD*; the *L*'s being reversed, but by turning them we obtain "Elfvald." The other is in the possession of Mr. Brummel, and reads *VALDÆLA*; one half of this word has the *F* upside down, and reads backwards: if we read it, first correcting the *F*, we get *ALEF*, and then taking the other half of the word, we get *ALEFVALD*. This may seem to the uninitiated more ingenious than likely, but when the different modes of writing Saxon names are taken into consideration, also the ignorance of the engravers of the dies, or rather punches, who could not, most likely, either read or write, but copied the characters mechanically; and add to this, that in the engraving they must be made *backward*, as on a seal, in order that the impression may be read *forward*,—when we consider all this, the blunders may be easily accounted for, and the ingenious interpretation of Mr. Hawkins be considered a fair one. No. 21, Plate 2, represents this last-mentioned coin, a *styca*.

Heardulf reigned from A.D. 794 to 806, but no coins of his were found till 1833, when a hoard of (8000) Northumbrian coins was discovered in digging an unusually deep grave in Hexham churchyard, Durham. They were contained in a bronze vessel, and were all *stycas*, consisting of 2000 of Eadred, 2000 of Ethelred, 100 of Redulf, 100 Archbishop Eanbald, 800 Archbishop Vigmund, a few of Heardulf, and about 3000 more which were dispersed without examination. It seems probable that they were buried not later than 844, as there were no coins of later date, unless those unintelligible ones which some have supposed, without much ground, to be of Aella.\*

Alfwold succeeded Heardulf, but we have no coins of his reign. He was succeeded by Eanred, from A.D. 808 to 840, whose *stycas* are numerous, presenting from sixty to seventy moneyers' names. There is also a silver penny, by some attributed to him; but Mr. Hawkins wishes on several grounds to assign it to some other prince of the same name.

Of Æthelred, from A.D. 840 to 848, there are *stycas* differing slightly in the disposition of minor ornaments from those of his predecessors. These principally occur in conjunction with the name of the moneyer Leofdegn, who seems to have aimed at a little more embellishment than his predecessors and contemporaries. There is in the collection of Mr. Brummel a coin of fine silver of this king, in all other respects resembling his usual *stycas*; but such pieces, of which there are examples of different styles and periods, can only be

\* Hawkins's British Silver Coins.

regarded as essays or caprices of some one engaged in the mint, and not as forming part of the general currency.

Of Redulf, who usurped the throne for a few months only, during the reign of Æthelred, there are some coins in existence of the usual character. Of Osbercht, A.D. 848 to 867, who succeeded Æthelred, there are a few stycas, but very rare.

Of Aella, who reigned about this period, there are no coins, unless those unintelligible ones found among the Hexham hoard before mentioned should prove to be his.

Regnald landed in Northumbria, A.D. 912, and being successful in establishing himself, reigned till 944. His coins are very rare, and interesting on account of the Roman title *rex* being abandoned by him for the Saxon *cununc*. No. 22, Plate 2, in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick's, being broken, shows only *Reg*, the *nald* being broken away; but the word *cununc* is perfect. The reverse shows a trefoil or triple knot, perhaps an early symbol of the Trinity; it is the size and form of the Saxon penny.

Anlaf (called king of Ireland) next invaded Northumbria in 937, and though at first defeated, eventually established his power, being elected in 942: he was overthrown and defeated by Edmund in 945. His coins are silver pennies, and very rare, of which No. 23, Plate 2, is an example. It has the Danish raven, the badge of their enchanted standard, and on the reverse a small cross, and may perhaps be considered one of the earliest examples of an approach to an heraldic cognizance. His Irish coins are described at page 54.

In 927, Eric, the son of Harold of Norway, had been placed by Æthelstan (grandson of Ælfred the Great) as his feudatory king in Northumberland, but his authority was not acknowledged till elected by the Northumbrians themselves in 949. Two years afterwards he was expelled and slain, and is considered the last king of Northumbria, Eadred having succeeded in adding that district finally to his dominions. The coins of Eric are silver pennies: he is styled "Eric Rex," with sometimes *N* for Northumbria; his type is a sword, like that on the coins of St. Peter.

#### COINS OF SAINTS.

This seems to be the proper place to speak of coins of saints, or rather coins bearing their names, which were struck by particular abbots in virtue of authority granted for that purpose. Those of St. Peter have been called "Peter pence," and erroneously supposed to have been coined for the purpose of paying to Rome the tribute known by that name. The coins bearing the name of St. Peter are silver pennies, and were coined at York, as the legend on the reverse is always *Eboraci* (of York), more or less abbreviated. The style and execution of the sword on the obverse being precisely similar to

that on the coins of Eric, refers these coins at once to that period. No. 24, Plate 2, is a specimen.

Those of St. Martin are similar, with the exception of having "Lincoia civit" (City of Lincoln) on the reverse: they are undoubtedly of the same period.

Those of St. Edmund (No. 25, Plate 2) do not bear the name of a place of mintage: they appear earlier than Edward the Confessor, and must be placed at latest with those of St. Peter and St. Martin, and possibly refer to St. Eadmund Rex, of the East Angles, A.D. 855 to 870. They are without the "sword" of the other coins of this class.

#### COINS OF DIGNITARIES OF THE CHURCH.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, had authority, soon after the firm establishment of Christianity in the island, to strike money and enjoy the profits of mintage. But archbishops alone had the privilege of stamping the coins with their portraits and names; a privilege withdrawn by Æthelstan in 924. The ecclesiastical coinage after that period is only distinguished from the royal by the peculiar mint marks, and these terminated in the reign of Henry VIII. The specimens given in this Plate are from the coins of archbishops previous to the edict of Æthelstan. Those of the archbishops of Canterbury are pennies.\*

No. 26, Plate 2, is one of Jaenbert, who held the see of Canterbury from 763 to 790. It has a flower surrounded by *IAENBRHT. ARBP.*, and on the reverse "Offa Rex," from which it would appear that they had in some way joint jurisdiction.

No. 27, Plate 2, is a coin of Ceolnoth, who held the see of Canterbury from 830 to 870; it has the front face of the archbishop, with his name; and on the reverse a cross, with "civitas" in the angles; the legend being *DOROVERNIA* (Canterbury).†

The coins of the *archbishops of York* were *stycas* till they became by the edict of Æthelstan assimilated to the coins of the realm. Ulphere or Vulphere, who held this see from 854 to 892, is the last prelate whose name occurs on coins of the episcopal mint.‡ (See No. 28, Plate 2.)

\* Hawkins's British Silver Coins.

† There are also coins of Vulfred, 803 to 830; Plegmund, 891 to 923; and Ethered, 871 to 890 A. D.

‡ There are *stycas* of Eanbald, 796; and Vigmund, 851.









## CHAPTER IV.

## COINS OF THE SAXON AND DANISH SOLE MONARCHS OF ENGLAND.

## FROM EGBERT TO EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

THE first sole monarch, as Egbert (Ecgbearht) has been termed, became king of the West Saxons in the year 800, and gradually subduing nearly the whole of South Britain, gave the name of England to his territories. But Burgred, king of Mercia, reigned as late as 874, in the time of Ælfred the Great. Ethelstan was also king of the East Angles late in the reign of Ælfred—namely, 890; while Eric, king of Northumberland, though tributary to the grandson of Ælfred in 951, might even then be considered as holding separate jurisdiction. It was not till Eadred, another grandson of Ælfred, who succeeded his brothers Æthelstan and Eadmund, that Northumbria was annexed, and not till Edgar that the whole kingdom may be said to have been firmly united under one monarch. But having already spoken of the kings of the Heptarchy separately, I may henceforth, for the sake of convenience of arrangement, treat of the coins of Egbert, and his successors, as sole monarchs of England.

The coins of Egbert do not differ in general from those of the kings of the Heptarchy; some have the king's profile, with his name, as "Ecgbearht Rex," with a cross and the moneyer's name on the reverse; others have a cross with his name and title, and on the reverse a different cross with the moneyer's name; some have a monogram supposed to be "Dorob. C." (City of Canterbury), and others "Saxo" or "Saxon," with the king's name and title as legend. No. 1, Plate 3, is that with the supposed monogram, "Dorob. C." on the reverse.

Ethelwlf (837 to 856) succeeded his father A.D. 837; but his brother, Æthelstan, took a part of the territory,—namely, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Surrey. On his death they reverted to Ethelwlf; so that some of his coins exhibit the legend, "Rex. Cant. Saxoniorum," and sometimes "Occidentalium Saxoniorum." Canterbury is the only mint named on the coins of this king. No. 2, Plate 3, is one of his coins: it has a head surrounded with "Edelwlf Rex.," and the reverse a double cross, with the moneyer's name. But there are many varieties of his coins, in which the small crosses are of a different design, etc.; some have the monogram of Christ in the centre of the reverse.

Æthelbald (855 to 860). A coin of this king is said to have been in existence, and No. 3, Plate 3, is from an engraving of it, made under doubtful



authority. But Dr. Coombe affirmed, that the coin really was once in the collection of Mr. Austin.

Æthelbearht, second son of Ethelwlf (856 to 866). Sixty varieties of the moneyers' names upon his coins are known. No. 4, Plate 3, a coin of this king, has his bust, with the legend "Edelbearht Rex," and on the reverse the letters of the moneyer's name arranged in the angles of a cross.

Æthelred (866 to 871) deprived Æthelbearht's children of their inheritance, and ascended the throne himself. His coins are generally light, and of impure silver, and somewhat resemble those of Burgred, king of Mercia.\* No. 5, Plate 3, is a specimen.

Ælfred the Great (871 to 901) was the younger brother of Æthelred, and succeeded him. His portrait is very rudely executed on his first coins, and in the same style as those of his predecessors; but others of later date have the portrait in a somewhat improved style, and on the reverse a large monogram of "London," occupying the whole field. On some the word "Ornsnaford," for Oxford, occurs, forming, with the king's name, three lines. There is also a small coin of his, appearing to be a halfpenny. A very peculiar piece is also in existence, weighing 162 grains, instead of about 20 grains, the average weight of his pennies. It must, however, be rather considered in the light of a medal than a coin.† I have given two specimens of the coins of Ælfred. No. 6, Plate 3, is that with the improved portrait and the large monogram of London. No. 7, has the name spelt *ELFRED*.

Edward the Elder (901 to 925) succeeded his father Ælfred. His coins are very numerous, exhibiting above eighty varieties of moneyers' names; both pennies and halfpennies of his reign occur; ‡ the latter, however, seldom weigh more than from 7 to 9 grains. His head appears on his coin in a rude but somewhat Roman style, and the reverses are very various, some with a building, but too coarse in execution to be interesting as a record of any period of architecture (No. 9, Plate 3); others have a large hand, expressed by raised outlines, as in No. 8, Plate 3, which has the hand issuing from a cloud, the obverse having merely the legend "Eadweard Rex," and a small cross in the centre. Some of the reverses of Æthelstan, have a similar building, and the moneyer's name "Regnald," with "Eboraci cv." (City of York); the obverse, like the former, having no head, but merely the king's name, and a small cross in the centre. These buildings on the reverses are very much in the style of some that are found on the late Roman coins, particularly those of Constantine, which are thought to be English, from having the letters *P. LON.*, supposed to be "*Pecunia Londinensis*." From specimens of these coins discovered at the time, the buildings in question may have been copied.

\* Hawkins's British Silver Coins.

† In the possession of Mr. Garland.

‡ It has been thought that they are one-third of pennies, as such coins are mentioned in the laws of Ælfred.

Æthelstan (925 to 941) succeeded his father. He paid considerable attention to his coinage, determining, among other regulations made at a grand synod, at which Wulfhelme, archbishop of Canterbury, and all the wise and powerful of the kingdom were assembled, that the whole coinage of the realm should be alike, and therefore withdrew from archbishops, or others, the privilege of having their portraits or names on the coins which they minted. He also established places of coinage at a number of the then principal towns; and the ecclesiastical and royal mints have, from that period, no distinctive types, till about Edward I., when those privileged to coin money adopted mint-marks, such as initial letters or badges, by which their coins are to be distinguished.

Æthelstan, however, did not interfere with the *moneyer's* name, which still continued on the reverses of the coins, and was from that period more frequently accompanied by that of the place of mintage, occasionally preceded by the word "Urbs," instead of "Civitas." He is generally styled "Rex," sometimes "Rex Saxorum," but frequently "Rex totius Britanniae;" showing that Egbert and his descendants have not been styled sole monarchs of all Britain by subsequent historians alone, but that it was a title of their own assumption: indeed so great an event was the consolidation of the Heptarchy considered, that more than one of the British monarchs had thoughts of assuming the title of emperor (imperator), but yielded to a contrary wish of the Pope. There are on the coins of Æthelstan about sixty variations of names of mints, and full 100 of moneyers' names, and the reverses of some have rude buildings, like those of his father. Some little confusion occurs as to some coins formerly attributed to Æthelstan the sole monarch, which Mr. Hawkins is inclined to attribute to another King Æthelstan, of the East Angles; but the specimen, No. 10, Plate 3, is an undoubted coin of the grandson of Ælfred. It has the head of the king, in imitation of the debased Roman style, and on the reverse the moneyer's name and the place of mintage, "London."

Eadmund (491 to 946). His coins are similar in general character to those of his brother Æthelstan, but none have been found having buildings on the reverses, like those of his two predecessors. His portrait has sometimes a helmet, and sometimes a crown; in the specimen, No. 11, Plate 3, it is helmeted. The place of mintage is generally omitted on his coins; some of them have been mistaken for those of St. Edmund.

Eadred (946 to 955), another brother of Æthelstan. The types of his coins are similar to those of his immediate predecessor. The specimen, No. 12, Plate 3, has "Eadred Rex;" and on the reverse the moneyer's name. Norwich is the only ascertained place of mintage in this reign.

Eadwig (955 to 959). The son of Eadmund succeeded his uncle. The specimen, Nos. 13, Plate 3, has his portrait, with "Eadwig Rex;" the reverse, which I have not given, has only the moneyer's name and a small cross. No. 14, Plate 3, is the reverse of another of his coins, with the moneyer's

name and a peculiar ornament. The head (No. 13) approaches the style of the continental art of the period more nearly than any other specimen of the series.

Eadgar (958 to 975) had been elected to, or rather had usurped, during his brother's life, a portion of the country, and on his death became sole monarch; the first Saxon king who has a real claim to that title. He renewed the edict of Æthelstan respecting the uniformity of the coinage, and also enacted, that none should refuse it, an edict rendered necessary by the clipping of the pennies, which had reduced them to half their value. St. Dunstan refused to celebrate mass on Whitsunday, until three moneyers, who had falsified the coin, had undergone their punishment—loss of the right hand. The coins of Eadgar present few distinctive characters from those of his predecessors, and he is styled simply "*Rex*," but sometimes the letters TO. BI. occur, which may be "*Totius Britanniae*." His coins are numerous; the moneyer's name frequently occurs without the place of mintage. The specimen, No. 15, Plate 3, shows the king's head with a fillet and crown; the reverse has the moneyer's name, etc.

Edward the Martyr (975 to 978) son of Edgar, after reigning three years, was murdered at the age of seventeen, by command of his step-mother, Elfrida. Notwithstanding his early death and short reign, his coins are common, but they appear somewhat ruder in execution than those of his father. He is styled "*Rex Anglorum*," more or less abbreviated: in the specimen, No. 16, Plate 3, it is AGL. only. His name is spelt EADWEARD.

Æthelred, the son of Elfrida (978 to 1016). This weak prince succeeded to the throne at the early age of ten, and the improvement in the coinage must probably be attributed to Dunstan, who, tired of the political intrigues which had occupied too much of his earlier career, devoted himself in his declining years to those arts in which he is known to have been a great proficient. The coin selected as a specimen (No. 17, Plate 3), represents the king in a sort of mailed armour peculiar to the period, and wearing a crowned helmet, partially of mail, but protected by a longitudinal ornamented bar; the whole sufficiently well executed to form an interesting record of the arms of the period. The reverse exhibits one of the first examples of the voided cross, which, with the addition of the martlet in the angles, formed subsequently the device of some of the coins of Edward the Confessor, and has been termed his "*arms*." A sceptre also appears for the first time on some of the coins of Æthelred, in front of the profile (No. 18, Plate 3), which in subsequent reigns became general. There is much controversy respecting some coins bearing this king's name, which resemble the coins of the early Irish kings, and are by some supposed to have been coined by Æthelred in Dublin, his father having possessed himself of a large portion of Ireland. (See page 54).

Edmund Ironside, the son of Æthelred (1016 to 1017), on the death of his father, found the kingdom in the greatest confusion from the contest going on with the Danes, who, under Sweyn, had landed in 1013, and whose son,

the youthful Cnut, now disputed the kingdom with the successor of Æthelred. It was eventually agreed to divide it; but Edmund dying in 1017, Cnut became sole monarch. Of Edmund Ironside no coins have been discovered.

Cnut (1017 to 1035). His coins are very numerous, and exhibit above 340 variations of moneymen's names, and more places of mintage than any other coins of the period. They resemble, in execution, those of Æthelred. The specimen, No. 19, Plate 3, is supposed to commemorate the peace established with Edmund Ironside in 1016, having the word "Pacx" (Peace) in the angles of a voided cross on the reverse. No. 20, is another coin of Cnut. Those on which he is described as "Rex Danorum," are very rare; they were doubtless coined in Denmark.\* There are also coins of his, which have the name of Dublin on the reverse; which may prove that he held in subjection a portion of Ireland. (See page 54). He was succeeded by his son.

Harold I. (1035 to 1040). His coins closely resemble those of his father and Æthelred. The specimen, No. 21, Plate 2, has his portrait in a sort of mail armour, with a sceptre, and "Harold Rex;" the reverse, the voided cross, etc.

Harthacnut (1040 to 1042) was elected king of England on the death of his brother. English and Danish coins (both rare) of this king are found, and it is difficult to separate them, as there was a place of mintage in Denmark, the name of which cannot be distinguished from London. The specimen, No. 22, Plate 3, has on the reverse a cross formed of four ovals, similar to crosses on some of the coins of his father. He is merely styled "Rex," without any reference to Denmark or England.

Edward the Confessor (1042 to 1066). On the death of Harthacnut, who perished from excess of gluttony, thoroughly detested for his cruelty by the whole nation, the Saxon line was restored; and the throne reverted to Edward, the surviving son of Æthelred. His coins are very various; on some of them the head is bearded, possibly as intimating his coming to the throne at a late period of life—a somewhat unusual circumstance in those times; or possibly, from his wearing a beard, in fulfilment of some vow or penance connected with his well-known devotional character, which gave him the cognomen of Confessor. His pennies vary exceedingly in size, from half an inch to an inch, but appear to have been all of the same nominal value, every intermediate gradation occurring without any regularity. It appears that halfpence and farthings were formed by cutting the pennies into two or four, as parcels of coins have been found so cut, which had evidently never been in circulation, seeming to prove that they were so issued from the mint. The specimen, No. 24, Plate 3, is a coin of this king, which, for the first time, exhibits a full figure of the sovereign seated on a throne, holding the orb and sceptre. It has the legend EADFRD. REX ANGLO., for "Eadward Rex Anglorum,"

\* Hawkins.

the Saxon P being used for W in Edward. The reverse shows the voided cross, with martlets in the angles, called the Confessor's arms. No. 23, Plate 3, is another silver penny of this king; the head is bearded, with a helmet; and there is a voided cross, and the place of mintage, on the reverse. In a communication by Sir H. Ellis to the Numismatic Society, a halfpenny also of his reign is mentioned. Edward is supposed to have first introduced from Normandy, where he had long resided in exile, the oppressive custom of frequent recoinages, each alteration causing a great loss to the nation and great gain to the prince—a practice abundantly abused by some of the first sovereigns after the Norman conquest.

Harold II. (1066). A son of the powerful Earl Godwin, whose daughter the late king had married, now usurped the throne. His father had married a daughter of Cnut, so that he had also some pretensions to the crown, through the Danish line, and overlooking the claims of the infant Edgar Atheling, assumed the title of king. His reign terminated nine months afterwards, on the battle-field of Hastings. But though he reigned only nine months, there are coins that may undoubtedly be ascribed to him, as they have been discovered in parcels which contained no others, except those of William the Conqueror and Edward the Confessor; otherwise they might have been attributed to Harold I. The specimen, No. 25, Plate 3, exhibits the profile of the king, with a double arched crown (like some of his predecessor's), and a sceptre. I have heard no good reason assigned for the word "Pax" on the reverse, the existence of which seems rather to invalidate the supposition given for the appearance of that word on a coin of Cnut. Ruding (who quotes North) explains this by the circumstance of its existing on a coin of Edward the Confessor, struck, he thinks, in commemoration of a peace or compact made with Earl Godwin (Harold's father), by which that family was to succeed to the throne. The word was also adopted in rivalry by William of Normandy, in token of his own alleged compact with Edward for his succession to the throne. It was continued by Rufus, probably with the same feeling. The portrait of Harold is represented bearded, like that of Edward the Confessor; possibly to convey an idea of his being his adopted successor, as beards were not generally worn at the period, but merely a moustache on the upper lip, which the immediately succeeding Norman coins represent very distinctly. The coins of Harold close the Anglo-Saxon series.

#### EARLIEST COINAGE OF IRELAND.

At the period of the Norman Conquest of England, the old Celtic ring-money was still used in many parts of Ireland, though the Danish invaders, who had subdued the southern portion of the island, had introduced a coinage of silver pennies similar to that of England, and apparently copied from those of the Anglo-Saxon princes of the period. These Irish coins had, however,

peculiarities of execution not found on those of England, especially the curious treatment of the hair by the barbarous artists of the Irish mints, which, by former antiquarians, was taken for rays, representing a kind of glory, a mistake long since disproved. This peculiarity will be better understood by reference to the coins Nos. 2 and 3, Plate 18.

The supposition that the Irish had no other money than the ring-money, previous to the first Danish invasion, about 853 A.D., is corroborated by the fact that no native coins have been discovered, while a series of Hiberno-Danish coins commence from that epoch, that extends to the period when the whole of Ireland was subjected to the Anglo-Norman princes of England, in the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189 A.D.). Of Anlaf I., the first Danish king of Ireland, no coins are known; but to Imars or Ifars, king of Limerick, his brother, the rude coin, No. 1, Plate 18, may with tolerable certainty be attributed. Ifars was at first king of Limerick only, but after the death of Anlaf he succeeded to all the Danish possessions in Ireland. The rude coins attributed to this prince are now common in Ireland. They are of very peculiar execution, the form of the face being expressed by dots. On each side of the head are the characters IMF. or IML., turned towards the head; the remainder of the legends, which are very irregular and blundered, seem to read NND, also repeated. These letters are found on many Hiberno-Danish coins, and are supposed to stand for "Normanorum, Dyflin," or "Normanorum Dominus." The characters IML. would appear to stand for IMAR. or IMFAR. The same letters are found on Anglo-Saxon skeattæ, and as Imars was king of the northmen both in Ireland and England, it is possible the skeattæ in question were also struck by this prince, the types of both series being doubtless a rude imitation of some Anglo-Saxon coin.

The next specimen, No. 2, Plate 18, is attributed to Enred, a contemporary of Sithric III. (989 A.D.). It resembles in type the coins of the last-named prince, and also those attributed to Donald. The legend on the obverse is + ENRED. REX. M. N., and on the reverse HERVE. MO. DIR. No prince of this name (Enred) occurring in the Irish annals, but the close general resemblance of the coin to those of the princes above referred to, has induced Mr. Lindsay to attribute it to the same district as the coins bearing the legend DYMNROEX. MN., which are cotemporary with those of Sithric III. It may, therefore, be a coin of Anrad, one of the princes of the northmen who fought at Clontarf, and was killed in that battle. Over which of the petty kingdoms he ruled, it is not easy to guess, but the letters referring to the name of the place of mintage, DIR., may lead to the desired discovery.

No. 3, Plate 18, is another Hiberno-Danish coin; it belongs to Ifarz II., king of Dublin, in 993. It bears the usual type, the rude head on the obverse and the long double cross on the reverse, the legend round the head being IIMRZ. REX., the remaining letters intended for DIFNLIN. On the reverse is a legend, which seems intended for FAEREIN. MO. DINL., retrograde—FAEREIN. moneta

Diflinæ (Dublin); the coin is neatly executed, and one of the very few whose appropriation to this king is beyond question.

The coins of Sithric III. (989 A.D.) are more numerous than those of any other Danish king of Ireland. The specimen engraved, No. 4, Plate 18, has a portrait of the king, bareheaded, with the hair executed in the manner peculiar to the Irish coinage of the period. The legends generally read, when perfect, ZITIR. DIFLMEORVM, the last word being contracted, as we find on English coins of Æthelred. The reverse has a short double cross, with CRVX in the angles; the moneyers' names that occur, on the reverse of the coins of Sithric III., are FASTOL. EOLF. CIOLF. ALFSTE., and several others.

No. 5, Plate 18, is attributed to Anlaf V. (1029 A.D.). On this rude but singular coin, a part of the legend is retrograde, and terminates in the letters LAF, from which circumstance it has been assigned to Anlaf V. or VI., king of Dublin. On the neck of the portrait is that curious kind of ornament, or cross, found on many rude Scandinavian coins, and which may, perhaps, represent a reliquary.

No. 6, Plate 18, is attributed to Askel (1159 A.D.). Of the series of coins of the Hiberno-Danish princes, which continued to be issued till late in the twelfth century, those known are attributed to Ifars II., Anlaf V., Anlaf VI., Ifars III., Ecmargach, Regnald, Oictor, Ifars king of Limerick, Askel, and others. Askel, to whom the coin under description is attributed, was the last but one of this race of sovereigns. The legend exhibits the letters AMEIL. EOV, reversed and retrograde, intended for AZEIL. EOVNVNC. The monetary symbols on this coin, in the form of ancient fibulæ and pieces of *ring-money*, render it very interesting, and seem to prove that the Celtic money in that form was still in circulation, at all events as tribute, or for devotional donations, in which cases the ring was no doubt richly ornamented in the manner of those engraved in Plate 16 A. The enlarged cups or knobs at each end of the rings, are very clearly defined on this curious coin. One of the real difficulties attending the correct attribution of the Hiberno-Danish coins, arises from the rudeness of the legends, which are frequently nothing more than a series of strokes made to imitate the appearance of a legend. The only coins that can be attributed to native Irish princes, belong to a period subsequent to that of the earliest Hiberno-Danish coins. These are the pieces attributed to Donald or Domnald, a king of a part of Ireland, who reigned from 956 to 980, or Donald Claen, king of Leinster, who was defeated by Melachlin, king of Ireland, in 983. These coins have the usual Irish head, and the legend DVMN. ROEX. MNECHI.

The coins bearing the names of CNVT (Canute) and ÆDELRED (Æthelred) are supposed by some to prove that Æthelred and Canute held in subjection Dublin, and a portion of Ireland; but by other numismatists they are considered copies of English coins by Danish moneyers incapable of executing original types.

**BRACTEATE COINS.**—Previous to 1837 very few specimens of Bracteate coins had been discovered in Ireland. Bracteates have a raised type on one side only, the reverse showing a deep indent of the same type. They are very thin, and appear to have been struck by means of a punch having the same type cut in relief, as the sunk one of the die into which the plate of silver was driven. Bracteate coins of this kind were struck in Switzerland and other parts of the Continent, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, but none were known in the British Islands till the discovery of the coins in Ireland of which the engravings 7, 8, 9, and 10, Plate 18, are specimens. It is possible that they were imported money, but archæologists are in favour generally of the opinion that they are of Irish fabric.

In 1837 a large hoard of coins of this kind was dug up at Fermoy. No intelligible legend is to be found on any of them, the place being occupied by a circle of straight strokes (before referred to) similar to those on other Irish coins. They appear to belong to the period from about the reign of Harold—of whose coins some of them appear to be copies—to the time of Stephen.

After the subjection of Ireland to the Anglo-Norman princes in the reign of Henry II., the first coins that appear are those of John, who was created Lord of Ireland. The account of that coinage will, therefore, be resumed after the period of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, from which time the coinages of the two countries will be described together.

No well-authenticated Scottish coins are known belonging to this period; the earliest coins of that portion of Britain will, therefore, be described in a future chapter.



## CHAPTER V.

## COINS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS.

## FROM WILLIAM I. TO RICHARD III.

THE great political changes following the Norman conquest, might be expected to produce great modifications in the coinage—probably by the introduction of gold coins, as used, though sparingly, by continental nations. But such was not the case. In Anglo-Saxon times the gold bezants (*Byzantiums*) of Constantinople circulated in the country, but no attempt was made then or now to supplant them by a national coin. The only changes now made were those affecting *imaginary coins*, or rather denominations for certain sums, of which no positive coin existed (money of account): such as the *mancus*, supposed to be derived from *manucusum*, “coined money.” The *mancus*, it is supposed, may possibly have been a positive Arabic coin, of gold, which found its way to Britain through Spain; but soon disappearing, left only its name and value, as a means of defining larger sums than it was convenient to estimate by the small silver and brass coin of the land. The *mancus* expressed a value equal to thirty pennies, or six shillings of five pence, then the value of the shilling.

This shilling—the Saxon *scil*, or *scilling*—was equally an imaginary coin. By this term the Saxons at one time intended five pennies, and at another four. William I. settled the Saxon shilling at four pennies, but also established the Norman shilling at twelve pennies; yet no positive coin of that denomination and value appeared till the reign of Henry VII. The term “shilling” has been favoured with many derivations; some trace it to the Latin “*sicilicus*,” which signified a quarter of an ounce; others to a Saxon word meaning a scale or measure.

The “mark” was a Danish term of computation, introduced about the time of Ælfred; it was then valued at 100 pennies, but, on the coming of the Normans, when their shilling of twelve pennies was introduced, the mark was valued at 160 pennies.

The pound was also what might be termed an imaginary coin, but referred principally to weight. The pounds were of gold, or silver, each meaning the nominal value in money, according to the current coin, that could be made of the pound weight of either metal.

These *imaginary* coins are known as “moneys of account,” and it was possible to represent such imaginary sums, when larger than easily represented by









current coin, that the Chinese invented their paper-money, previously alluded to. "Sterling" is another term early connected with our coinage, which soon became a name by which English money was distinguished on the Continent. Walter de Pinchbeck, a monk of St. Edmondbury, in the time of Edward I., derives it from "Easterling," a name given to persons who periodically examined the mint and regulated the coinage—possibly at Easter; so that the term means, true money, according to the last examination; as, 100 pennies, or pounds, Easterling, or sterling.\*

With this short introduction, we may proceed to examine the actual coins of William the Conqueror and his immediate successors, which consist entirely of silver pennies; for, with the stycas of the Saxon era, copper entirely disappears for a long period.

After the conquest, and on the accession of William of Normandy (A.D. 1066 to 1087), it might have been expected, as I have just suggested, that a great change would take place in the style of the coinage, seeing that the arts in general were in a much more forward state, at this period, on the Continent than in England. But no improvement took place, and the Saxon types were strictly adhered to, as well as the weight and standard.

There is much difficulty in assigning the coins (all silver pennies) of the first two Williams to their respective issuers; and as a great variety of types of each are known, it would be impossible, in the compass of this work, to point out all the different characteristics, with the reasons for attributing them to the one or the other William. Farthings and halfpennies, as under Edward the Confessor, were formed by cutting the pennies in two or four. The specimen, No. 1, Plate 4, is an undoubted penny of William I. In "*Pillem Rex*," the William is spelt with the Saxon P instead of W.

William Rufus (1087 to 1100). The specimen, No. 2, Plate 4, represents the king in full face, crowned, with *PILLEM REX*, as in the coins of his predecessor. The number of coins of these kings discovered together at Bearworth, in Hampshire, in 1833, exceeded 12,000; so that one or two of their types, which, before that time, were rare, have become amongst the most common of our early coins.

Henry I. (1100 to 1135). It is on record that this king enacted especial regulations with regard to the coinage, but of what precise nature numismatists are not agreed. He, however, abolished the oppressive tax called money-age, previously alluded to: and to prevent falsification of the coin, then become excessive, he enacted that, in addition to the loss of the right hand, the guilty party should suffer also loss of sight and further mutilations. It is clear, however, from the evidence of the coins themselves, that, although this prince

\* Grimm, in his "*Deutsche Mythologie*," has given us the derivation of Easter, from Bede; who states that April, in which Easter generally falls, was anciently called, by his countrymen, *Esturmonat* (Eastermonth), from the name of their goddess *Eastra*, whose festival occurred at that period of the year.

was surnamed "Beauclerk," from his learning and accomplishments, he did not interest himself greatly in the art bestowed upon his moneys, for they are, if anything, rather more rude than those of his predecessors. It has been said, that some little difficulty exists as to the distinction of the coins of the different Henries; but, with the coins of the present king, that difficulty can only occur between those of his reign, and those of Henry II. and Henry III.; and, in most instances, the difficulty does not appear very great, for the general features of the coins of Henry I. place them at once nearest to those of the two Williams. Another distinction appears to be, that the crown ornamented with the fleur-de-lis was not *generally* adopted till the reign of Stephen, and even then not perfectly defined; but in the next reign (Henry II.) it became much better developed, and in Henry III. nearly perfect; whilst on the coins of his son it assumed that complete and decisive design which continued on all the silver coins through a long succession of reigns, even to Henry VII. If I am right in this conjecture, some coins may be removed from Henry I. to Henry II. The specimen given,\* No. 3, Plate 4, is much like some coins of Rufus; it has a front face, with a moustache on the upper lip. Some have the inscription HNRE EX I.; others, HENRI, and some HENRICUS. A ring on each side of the head is a mark peculiar to the coins of this reign.

Stephen (1135 to 1154). It has been said that Stephen, and especially some of his barons (who during the civil wars of his reign assumed the privilege of coining money), debased the coin to a very great extent; but these charges are not borne out by existing coins, either against the king himself, or his barons of whose coinage any specimens exist.

The specimen (No. 4, Plate 4,) is one of the most common of his coins; it shows the fleur-de-lis crowned before spoken of, has a flag instead of a sceptre, and for legend, "Stifne Rex," which is, however, very variously spelt on different coins. A remarkable coin of his, struck at Derby, has "Stephanus Rex." The head is peculiarly barbarous; but on the reverse, the device (called the arms of the Confessor) is pretty well executed. Some have the name spelt "Steine." Of the money struck by influential persons, who during his reign assumed the privilege of coining money, bearing their own effigy, the most remarkable is that of Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother; it has the bishop's head crowned, and accompanied by a crozier, with the legend "Henricus Epc." There are coins also supposed to be those of Robert of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry I., which are the earliest examples of an English coin with a figure on horseback. They are rather expressively, though quaintly, executed; and have the legend "Robertus.. St. t." The reverses of these coins much resemble those on the coins of the king: but are curious on account of the ornament between the letters of the legend. Coins are also known of Eustace, the son of Stephen, coined by

\* These remarks will be exemplified by reference to the plate.

him at York. Their type is a figure in a sort of mail armour, holding a sword, with a conical helmet, having the nose-piece. The legend is simply "Eustacius." The reverses always bear the name of the place of mintage—"Eboraci" (York), etc. Another coin of Eustace has what has been termed a "lion passant" to the right, which, if it be so, is very interesting, as an extremely early example of a true heraldic device on an English coin—the earliest well known examples being the quarter-florin of gold of Edward III., which has a helmet surmounted by a lion passant, guardant, and the subsequent noble of the same reign, with the royal arms complete. Another interesting coin of this reign is one with two full figures, formerly supposed to be Stephen and Henry, and struck in commemoration of the treaty of peace concluded between them in 1153; but Mr. Hawkins considers the figures to be Stephen and Matilda his wife, struck when she commanded the army by which his liberation was effected. These two figures, though rude, are yet interesting relics of such art as was bestowed upon the coinage of the period. I mention art as connected with the coinage, because the arts in general, of this period, especially architecture, the art of illuminating books, and the goldsmith's art, displayed in the chasing of rich reliquaries, were all in a flourishing state: and, indeed, the twelfth century may be considered the finest artistic epoch of the middle ages for grandeur, richness, and consistency of style, in merely decorative art. It seems extraordinary, therefore, that the artistic efforts of such a period should not have been extended to the coinage.

Henry II. (1154 to 1189), on ascending the throne after the death of Stephen, found himself perhaps the most powerful monarch of Europe. He had previously inherited from his father, Touraine and Anjou; from his mother, Normandy and Maine. With his wife he received the great duchy of Aquitaine, comprising a large portion of the south-west of France. So that the extent of his territories in Europe, without conquest or aggression, was greater than that of any succeeding monarch, with the exception of Henry V. and VI., during the short and illusory conquest of France. His first coins were very badly executed, as appears by those found at Royston, in 1721, and a large parcel (5700) found at Tealby, Lincoln, in 1807, which were as fresh as if just issued from the mint. In a subsequent coinage he procured a foreign artist, Philip Aymary, of Tours, and the execution, though still not good, was much better than the first coinage. The portrait is a full face, and the crown exhibits the fleur-de-lis pattern pretty perfectly defined. The first coinage has "Henri Rex Angl." variously abbreviated; the reverse is an ornamental cross, with crosses in the angles. The second coinage has the legend "Henricus Rex." The specimen, No. 6, Plate 4, is one of the first coinage. Coins of this reign have been discovered bearing the moneyers' names Achetil and Lantier,—names which occur in the record called the "Chancellor's Roll," of the 11th Henry II., as moneyers at Wilton; which satisfactorily proves these coins to be of this reign, and not of Henry I. or III., and shows



Ruding and Combe were right in the respective attributions of the coins of those sovereigns.

Henry II. also issued money in his extensive continental possessions, of similar character to that struck in England, but of superior style, so far as regards the execution of the legends. The *Denier* of Aquitaine, a corrupt form of the Roman term *Denarius*, was of the same weight and value as the English penny. (See Plate 5, No. 1.) In this reign the conquest of Ireland took place, but no Anglo-Irish coins are known previous to those of John.

Richard I. (1189 to 1199) and John (1199 to 1216). Richard I., during a reign of ten years, only passed four months in England, and those employed in oppression and extortion; whilst his rival, Philip Augustus of France, whose fame has been unfairly eclipsed by the barbaric valour of Richard, was busily employed in reforming the coinage of France, which in his reign moved a good two centuries in advance of that of England. Its ancient gold coinage was re-established by some new pieces,\* and the style of the silver improved; while there are no English coins of the reign of Richard in existence, and possibly none were struck, though some of his continental pieces are known, describing him as duke of Aquitaine, which bear also his title of king of England. Of his continental money, the *Denier* of Poitou, Plate 5, No. 2, will serve as an example. Of the disgraceful reign of John we have some coins struck in Ireland, but no English ones, though records exist proving that coinages took place in his reign. He had, in his father's life, received the title of Lord of Ireland, and probably struck coins there under that authority, and subsequently, as king; examples of both epochs being in existence. No. 11, Plate 18, is an example of his coins struck as *Dominus*; they have the inscription IOANNES. DOM. The halfpence of this coinage weigh  $11\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and the farthings, first discovered in 1806, are half that weight. The farthings have for types, on the obverse, a lozenge, and on the reverse a large cross, having in the angles the letters forming the moneyers' name. (No. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ .) No. 12, Plate 18, is an Irish penny struck after John's accession to the crown; it reads, on the obverse, IOHANNES. REX. The first authentic notice of the coinage of this reign is in 1210, when John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, and lord justice of Ireland, caused pennies, halfpennies, and farthings to be coined of the English standard, which gave  $22\frac{1}{4}$  grains to the penny. The triangle found on the Irish coins of John, Henry III., and Edward I., is supposed to be a symbol of the Trinity, the ancient arms of Trinity Priory in Ipswich being represented in a similar manner. In Ireland, it may have been used in allusion to the first English mint being established in the monastery of the Trinity, in Dublin.

Henry III. (1216 to 1272). His silver pennies have the king's head, in front face, and "Henricus Tercei," or III., which distinguishes them from those of Henry II. The fleur-de-luce crown, too, has become more perfect, and

\* The authenticity of the gold coins attributed to P. Augustus has been disputed.









only requires to be thrown into perspective, by lowering the flowers at the sides, and taking away their exterior leaves, to make it in all respects like the fully-developed crown of this style of the next reign. The specimen (No. 6, Plate 4) has the king's head, a front face, bearded, with the crown, and also exhibits, for the first time, the waving hair which afterwards became general. The reverse has a cross botone (that is to say, with double limbs, each terminating in a pellet), and the old ornament of the three pellets is renewed in the angles,—a device which, with the exception of the cross being made simple, now became the type of all the silver money up to the reign of Henry VII., and did not finally disappear till the end of James I., 400 years after its adoption by Henry III. Nearly all the coins of the reigns recently described have still the moneyer's name and place of mintage on the reverse. Ruding supposes that this prince issued a coinage of halfpennies and farthings, which were afterwards recalled.

Henry III. issued a gold coinage, called gold pennies, which, however, circulated but a short time: No. 1, Plate 21, is a specimen. It was of very superior style to the silver coins, having for type the king sitting on a throne ornamented with mosaic work. This coin has been engraved in the work of Folkes, and in other numismatic treatises, but in every case the engraving conveys the idea of a much finer coin than the real one.

Ruding describes the gold issue of Henry III. as one called gold pennies, and weighing two sterlings, and being coined to pass for twenty pennies of silver; but that it afterwards passed for twenty-four, or two shillings of twelve pence. He says, this piece, properly a royal, was the first of the sort coined in modern Europe: which, if the coins attributed to Philip Augustus are eventually assigned to another French sovereign of the same name, may be the case, as the famous florins of Florence were not issued till some time later.

Henry III. issued an Irish coinage similar to his second English coinage, the long double cross appearing on the reverse, and the legend *HERICUS REX III.* on the obverse, the *N* being frequently omitted. The reverse of this coinage has the moneyer's name, and place of mintage. An example of this issue will be found No. 13, Plate 18; a silver penny.

The coins of Edward I. (A.D. 1273 to 1307) exhibit the head of the king, designed, for the first time, in a style and manner (already indicated in those of Henry II.) that was to continue without alteration for eight successive reigns, including the commencement of that of Henry VII.; no difference being made in the face to suit the individual likeness of the respective sovereigns: it was, in fact, a merely conventional king's head. The reverse now adopted, the simple cross and pellets, continued, for the same period as the head, to be the only device on our silver coins, and remained in use on some of them even until the comparatively recent reign of James I.

The consequence of this similarity in the head has been the great difficulty experienced in accurately assigning the respective coins to kings of the same name; especially Edwards I., II., III., as they have no numerals

after the name. Numismatists have, nevertheless, suggested many ingenious methods of assigning the proper coins to each successive reign.

One of these means is afforded by the coins struck at Durham by the bishops, whose personal mint-marks distinguish the coins of each. Bishop Beck's, for instance (during the last twenty-four years of the reign of Edward I. and the first three of Edward II.), have a small cross moline for mint-mark; therefore his early coins, if they can be ascertained, are undoubtedly of the reign of Edward I. Bishop Kellow held the see from 1313 to 1316, in the reign of Edward II., and therefore all having his mint-mark—a small cross, with one limb bent in the form of a crosier—are undoubtedly of the reign of Edward II. Bishop Beaumont held the see during the last two years of Edward II. and the first three of Edward III., and his coins are marked with a lion rampant.

By comparing the coins of these prelates with other coins of the realm, which were precisely similar, with the exception of the mint-mark, an approximation to a proper separation of the coin of these three reigns may be arrived at; and this examination has suggested, as a general, though not an unvarying rule, that the coins upon which the name is expressed by EDW. belong to Edward I.; that those with EDWARDVS at full belong to Edward III., and all intermediate modes of writing the name to Edward II.\*

It is generally supposed that Edward I. coined the first groats, or four-penny pieces; if so, very few were put into circulation, and the specimen, No. 7, Plate 4, if belonging to this reign, was certainly only a pattern, and not one of the current pieces, as the only specimens known of it vary so considerably in weight (from 80 to 138 grains) as to preclude the possibility of their having been current coins. It has the king's front face, or rather the front face of a king, crowned, with the perfect form of the fleur-de-luced crown, or *crown fleurie*, and the draperies at the neck fastened with a rosette. The whole bust is enclosed in a *quarte foil* compartment, surrounded by the legend, "Edwardus di gra Rex. Angl.," for "Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ;" the reverse has an ornamented cross (*fleurie*) with the three pellets in the angles, extending to the edge of the coin. Immediately round the pellets are the words, "Londonia civi," for (Civitas); and the exterior legend is, DNS HIBNE. DVX. AQVI, for "Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ" (Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine). Some authors have ascribed these groats to Edward III., when the first extensive issue of coins of that size took place; and the name at full length seems somewhat to justify this view; but the drapery of the neck—while the neck is invariably bare on those coins of Edward III.—seems to favour the first hypothesis.

The pennies of this reign (No. 8, Plate 4) have the head without the *quarte foil* ornament, and the legend, "Edw. R.," or "Rex Angl Dns.

\* See Hawkins's Silver Coins.

Hyb.," for "Edwardus Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ;" the reverse of the specimen has the cross and pellets, with "Civitas London;" some have "Villa," instead of "Civitas," as "Villa Berevvici" (Berwick).

Some of the pennies of this reign have the head in a triangle, like the Irish coins of John. Halfpennies and farthings are, for the first time, found pretty plentifully. The specimen (No. 9, Plate 4) is a farthing, being of the same type as the penny, with the exception of the omission of the circle of beading round the head. Up to this reign, it is supposed, as before mentioned, that halfpennies and farthings were formed by cutting the pennies into two or four, an operation performed at the mint, coins having been found in quantities, so cut, that had evidently never been circulated.

As a specimen of the money coined by this prince in his continental possessions, I have engraved a penny of Aquitaine (No. 3, Plate 5).

Coins were struck in Ireland in this reign, under the government of Stephen de Fulborn, bishop of Waterford, lord-deputy in 1279. Some of the Irish pennies are without the triangle, and some with. No. 14, Plate 18, is a penny without the triangle, the legend is "EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HIB.;" the reverse has the usual cross and pellets, with "Civitas Dublin," which, in other specimens, stands "Dublini."

Many coinages took place in Ireland during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III., as is shown by the various orders in council concerning the Irish coinage, in both those reigns; but it is impossible to distinguish those of Edward III. from those of Edward I. Some of the coins attributed to the three Edwards indiscriminately, bear the names of other mints than Dublin—WATERFOR, (Waterford,) and CORCACIE, (Cork).

Edward II. (1307 to 1327). The coinage remained of the same weight and standard as in the previous reign. There is no record of a coinage of groats, but the penny (No. 10, Plate 4) has the same types as those of the preceding reign, and has for legend, EDWAR. R. ANG. DNS. HYB., and on the reverse, "Civitas London." No coins of the Anglo-Irish money have been assigned to this reign.

Edward III. (1327 to 1377). The silver coinage of this reign are groats and half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. It will be seen that the title of King of France is assumed on groats of this king, and this, with other peculiarities, go to prove that the groat previously mentioned must either have been an essay or pattern made very early in the reign, before the assumption of that title, or, which is most probable, that it really belongs to the reign of Edward I. The groat of this reign (No. 11, Plate 4) begins to exhibit, permanently, those characters of the art of the period which had been first shown in the supposed groat of Edward I.; but in this and the succeeding reigns, the head is enclosed in a compartment formed of a tressure of nine small arches instead of four, terminating at their junction in a trefoil exactly in the same style of ornament as the architectural decorations of the time.



It is a decoration, however, which, though new to the English coinage, had previously appeared on that of France. The words "Dei Gratia" were adopted for the first time on English coins in this reign; first on the gold coin, and afterwards on the groats, though it had appeared on the great seal since William I., and on the coins of France, with more or less variation, since the time of Charlemagne, who seems to have adopted "Christianity" as his watch-word. For on the reverse of his coins the words "*Christiana religio*" appear, and on others he was styled, "*Karolus Augustus a Deo Coronatus*," etc. Some of his successors adopted "*Misericordia Dei*," etc.; but "*Dei Gratia*" became general on the French coins long before it was introduced in England.\*

The legend on the groat of Edward III. stands, "Edward D.G. Rex Angl.z. France. D. Hyb." for "Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ;" the title of King of France having been assumed in 1389. The reverse of this groat of Edward III., has the plain cross extending to the edge of the coin, with the three pellets in the angles, and exhibiting, for the first time, the motto, "*Posui Deum adiutorem meum*" ("I have made God my help"). Slightly abbreviated, in an inner circle, is "*Civitas London.*" The halfgroat is the same, with the omission of "France" in the legend of the obverse. The coinages of some towns have their mint-mark in one angle of the cross, instead of the three pellets.

The weight of the silver coinage was first seriously reduced in this reign; first, from the previous general average of about twenty-two or twenty-two and a half grains in the silver penny, to twenty and a quarter, then to twenty, and eventually to eighteen.† The specimen, No. 12, Plate 4, is a silver penny, having the motto "*Edwardus Rex Angli*," and on the reverse "*Civitas Eboraci*" (York).• The halfpence and farthings are similar to the pennies, but have the legends shortened for the space; some having only "*Edwardus Rex*;" some of the farthings have only "*E. R. Angl. D. H.*" for "*Edwardus Rex. Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ.*"

The great feature in the coinage of this reign is the noble gold issue, said by English writers to be superior to any of the contemporary gold coins of Europe. It may be considered our first gold coinage, as the attempt in the reign of Henry III. was too partial, to take the first rank from the extensive and beautiful issue now effected. It was first determined, after much deliberation, that three moneys of gold were to be made, to be current at 6s., 3s., and 1s. 6d. The first was to have two leopards, the second a mantle, with the arms of England and France, and the small one, a helmet, etc.; being called

\* Folkes observes, speaking of the gold coins of Edward III., "‘*Dei Gratia*’ was now used for the first time; but there are, as stated, some previous examples in England, as well as the general previous use of it on the coins of France."

† Edward II. had previously coined forty-three out of the silver before used for forty.

florins, half-florins, and quarter-florins, a name derived from the celebrated gold coin of *Florence*, which had been copied in several parts of Europe, bequeathing the name of its parent city to many gold coins of other countries, after its original value and even its devices had disappeared. Edward III., in fact, adopted only the name, the devices and values being original and national. No. 13, Plate 4, is a specimen of a quarter-florin. It was found that this first gold coinage was rated too high, and was therefore soon recalled; consequently, specimens are very rare.

Another gold coinage was then determined upon, the famous one of the Nobles. These coins were not named after a place of mintage, like some of the gold coins of other nations, but, it is supposed by an old writer, either after the *noble* metal of which they were composed, or from their superior execution, weight, and purity; being said to be superior to any gold coins of the period in Europe. This remark, however, can only apply to their weight and purity. The pieces were called nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles; the nobles passing as 6s. 8d. It appears singular that they did not acquire their popular name from the ship forming part of their device, which was not in use on any other European coins, and any new and popular type was generally the means of giving its name to a coin, as will be noticed in another place. Some imagine that this device must, from its singularity, have been adopted in commemoration of the great naval victory of Midsummer Eve (1340), when two French admirals and thirty-thousand men were slain, and two hundred and thirty of their large ships taken, with small loss on the part of the English. But the ship is the well-known Roman symbol of "the State;" and it seems possible that the king at the helm of the State may have been intended in this striking device—for striking it is, both in design and execution, and it is the first example of anything like the best contemporaneous art being applied to the English coinage. There are other conjectures respecting this device too numerous to describe; one, however, as a very ancient one, may be mentioned, though evidently incorrect. Edward did not claim the sovereignty of the seas till 1359, fifteen years subsequent to the issue of these coins, and yet the old poet sings:— \*

But king Edward made a siege royall,  
And wonne the town, and in speciall  
The sea was kept, and thereof he was lord;  
Thus made he nobles coins of record.

The legend is, "Edward Dei Gra. Rex Anglo., et France. D. Hyb.;" the reverse a rich cross fleurie,† with lions under crowns in the angles; and the

\* Selden, reign of Henry VI.

† Copied from the "ecus d'or," or "royal" of his rival, Philip of Valois, whose several gold coins were finely executed, especially the Florin George, where the figure is much finer than even that on the George Noble of Henry VIII., executed nearly two hundred years later.

legend, "Ihs autem transiens p. medium illorum ibat." (Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.) These words\* had been used as a talisman of preservation in battle, and also against thieves. As a spell against thieves, says the learned editor of the *Canterbury Tales*, "it was the most serviceable, if not the most elegant, inscription that could be put upon gold coins." I give a specimen of the gold noble, No. 14, Plate 4, but there are other varieties, some having the title of "Duke of Aquitaine," after Ireland, and others with a flag at the stern of the ship, bearing St. George's cross; others, struck after the Treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, when Edward renounced his claim to France, omitting "France" in the titles.

The half nobles have the same type and legend on the obverse as the nobles; but the reverses have, in some cases, the motto, "Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me:" on one, which is in the British Museum, the sense of the motto, from the Sixth Psalm, is entirely changed by the accidental omission of the word "*ne*:" reading "Domine in furore tuo arguas me." Others have "Exaltabitur in gloria."† No. 15, Plate 4, is a specimen of the quarter-noble, the types of which were distinct.

The first grand coinage of nobles proved so valuable, that they were secretly exported for profit, and a lighter coinage was made, causing, however, some unreasonable discontent. The Commons afterwards petitioned for gold coins of the value of ten or twelve pennies, but there is no record of such an issue.

The types of our national coinage do not afford accurate indications of costume. The kings, from Edward I. to Henry VII., are without beards, on their coins, while on their broad seals and monuments they are bearded. Folkes suggests that the king is represented as beardless, because supposed to be always in the prime of youth, and that the coins thus give rather the political than the true image of the sovereign. Ruding adds a singular evidence of this sort of feeling in the monuments of the children of Edward III. (Blanche and William), in Westminster Abbey, who, though they died in the earliest infancy, are represented as a knight and lady: princes had, it would seem, in feudal polity, no infancy, and no old age.

This period was marked by the first arbitrary interference with commerce, on the part of the legislature, that led to so much inconvenience and national loss in after-times, and from which we are but just emerging. The earliest measure of this kind arose from the state of the coinage. The French sovereigns had begun, earlier than the English, the system of debasing the coin—a circumstance to which a French writer (Le Blanc) attributes the loss of the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, in consequence of the lords and knights not being able to equip themselves properly, as armourers and others

\* Luke, chap. iv., ver. 30.

† Which some have supposed to be an allusion to his claim on the crown of France.

refused the base money. Be this as it may, it is certain that the fine gold coinage of Edward III. was rapidly finding its way to France through this state of things; to obviate which, he established the complicated system of staple towns (from the German word *stapelen*, to pile or heap), where only British merchandise could be sold to the foreign merchant, in the presence of a government commissioner, who compelled the foreigner, on the sale of his own merchandise, to spend whatever moneys he might have received, in the purchase of British products, then principally wool. This arrangement, and the protection to buyers and sellers which it professed, were somewhat similar to that of the great fairs on the Continent; but the scheme utterly failed in England, for the king was unable to protect the dealers from the robberies and oppressions of the neighbouring nobles.

The coins struck in France by Edward III., are of several values and denominations, the gold being much more finely executed than even our boasted nobles. The fine gold piece issued in Guienne, and known as the Guiennois, is a very splendid coin, of which an example will be found in Plate 5, No. 4. The king is represented in complete armour, on the obverse; and the reverse has an ornamental cross of very rich and graceful gothic design.

The Leopard, so named from its device, is another gold coin issued by this sovereign in his continental possessions—it is represented in Plate 5, No. 4½. Examples of the silver and *billon* Anglo-Gallic coins of this sovereign will be found in the penny of Aquitaine, No. 5, Plate 5, and the Double Hardi of Aquitaine, No. 6, Plate 5.

Edward the Black Prince, who was invested with the principality of Aquitaine during the life of his father, in his capacity of sovereign prince issued several coinages, some of the coins of which are remarkably beautiful. The gold piece, which was popularly known as the "Pavilion," from the gothic canopy under which the prince is represented as standing, is a very beautiful coin, and the type is interesting on account of the detached ostrich feather in the "field"—so placed in commemoration of his having displumed the helmet of the king of Bavaria at the battle of Cressy. Another Anglo-Gallic coin of the Black Prince is almost if not quite equal to the handsome "Pavilion." It is known as the "Chaise," from the throne or chair of state on which the prince is seated, in the type of the obverse. The reverse is a richly-designed gothic cross, etc. It is represented in Plate 5, No. 8. Nos. 9 and 10, in the same Plate, are the obverse and reverse of the groat of Bordeaux, coined by the Black Prince, and are interesting as exhibiting the very superior design of the continental coinages; for, while on the English silver of the period the unmeaning conventional crowned head formed the unvarying device, the continental coinages exhibited an endless variety of types. On the Bordeaux groats of the Black Prince, the type of the obverse is a well-designed half-length figure of the prince holding the sword of Justice, and evidently intended as a portrait, though not a very com-

plimentary one. No. 6½, Plate 5, is a pattern for a new issue of the groats of Bordeaux in billon or base metal, a kind of coinage which had become very general on the Continent, and the bad example of which was followed in Scotland—but never in England: the debased silver issued by Henry VIII. and his immediate predecessors, being merely a fraudulent alloy of the silver, and not a systematic and open issue of billon, or black coin.

Richard II. (1377 to 1399). The silver coins of Richard (groats, half-groats, pennies, halfpence, and farthings) are so precisely similar to those of his grandfather, Edward III., that I only give one—a groat—as a specimen, No. 16, Plate 4. The motto is “Ricard. Di. Gra. Rex. Angl. z. Franc.” The reverse has the same legend as the preceding reign. His gold coins also are precisely similar to those of his predecessor; so that a half-noble will form a sufficient example; it is represented in Plate 4, No. 17. No Irish or Anglo-Gallic coins are known of this reign.

Henry IV. (1399 to 1413). The coins of the four Henries, who now succeeded each other, are very difficult to distinguish. These princes issued money of precisely the same types, without any mark of distinction, till Henry VII., in the eighteenth year of his reign, added the numerals “VII.” in the legend. There is, however, a tolerably secure guide for determining the pennies of Henry IV. In the early part of his reign, they were of the weight of those of his two predecessors—namely eighteen grains; but in the thirteenth year of his reign they were reduced to fifteen, and the other silver coins in proportion: any penny of eighteen grains, therefore, of the proper type, is pretty certainly of Henry IV. The early groats may be distinguished in a similar manner. Halfpence and farthings were also coined; but as their weight was never very carefully adjusted, it is difficult to separate those belonging to the first thirteen years of this reign. The specimen of his heavy money is a groat, No. 18, Plate 4; the legend is, “Henric Di. Gra. Rex. Angl. D. H.”—the reverse as in preceding reign. His gold coins are nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles, which do not differ from those of his predecessors, but may be distinguished from those of his successors, by the arms of France *Semé* of *fleurs-de-lis*, instead of being charged with three only, as was afterwards the custom. The specimen, No. 19, Plate 4, is a quarter-noble. No coins appear to have been struck in Ireland in this reign, nor in the continental possessions, which, since the premature death of the Black Prince, had nearly all fallen into the power of the king of France.

Henry V. (1413 to 1422), and Henry VI. (1422-1461). The coins of these reigns, both of gold and silver, are tolerably plentiful, but most of them must be attributed to the very extensive coinage at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. It appears extraordinary that the regent Bedford, whose taste for the fine arts is exhibited in the magnificently illuminated books executed for him, and of which several are in existence and in beautiful preservation, should not have attempted, in the plenitude of his vast power, which ex-

tended over both England and France, some further improvement in the style of the coinage. He did not, however, turn his taste for the arts in that direction, but followed exactly the old types. This appears the more extraordinary, as the coins struck in France of this reign, after the king's coronation as sovereign of both countries, are quite equal to those of the previous and immediately succeeding kings of France; especially the "*Franc d'or*," having the king on horseback, beautifully executed on the obverse. The silver pieces, too, struck in France, where the silver coinage had not been latterly much in advance of our own, were now much improved; and on the "*grand blanc*" two shields appeared—the one bearing the arms of France, the other those of France and England; being nearly a century earlier than the adoption of the royal arms on any English silver coins.

The English and Irish coins of Henry V. and Henry VI., still remain quite undistinguishable, notwithstanding certain very ingenious suggestions for their separation. The only specimen of silver I give is therefore a groat (No. 20, Plate 4), which, as it has a "V" after "Rex," may be assigned to Henry V. There were half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings of these two reigns. The gold coins are, as before, nobles, half-nobles, and gold farthings (or quarter-nobles). Those of Henry V. are scarcely distinguishable from those of his predecessor and successor. The specimen, No. 21, Plate 4, is a half-noble. I have not engraved an angel of Henry VI., as he did not coin angels till during his short restoration, and they were imitations of those of Edward IV.

In the reign of Henry VI., the restrictions on the freedom of commerce, with the view of keeping the bullion in the country, were rendered still more stringent; the foreign merchant was compelled to *reside* during his stay with a person appointed, who took notes of all his bargains, causing him to outlay all moneys received in British products, and who received, by way of salary, a tax of 2d. in the pound upon all bargains so made.

No Irish coinage can with safety be attributed to Henry V., but even if none were coined, little inconvenience was caused, as the greater proportion of the money in circulation in that country was English—as proved by the hoard of pennies of Henry III., discovered at Bantry, in which out of 702 pieces, only 83 were Irish, all the rest being of English mintage.

Of the 38th year of the reign of Henry VI., there is a document relating to the Irish coinage, in which it is ordered that a groat of forty-five grains be struck; also two coins of base metal, an *Irelande d'argent*, to pass for a penny, and a *Patrick*, to pass for one-eighth of a penny. No specimens of the former have ever been found, and they were, perhaps, never issued; but of the latter, three have been recently found at Trim, and published, first by the Rev. Mr. Butler, and subsequently by Mr. Lindsay. No. 15, Plate 18, is one of these small base coins.

The Irish groat of this reign is common, of the pattern with an open crown

for principal type, similar to that on the penny of Edward IV. (No. 17, Plate 18), but surrounded with a tressure of twelve arches, and no legend, the reverse having the old cross and pellets, etc., etc. There are also groats attributed by some to this reign, with the same types as those of Edward IV. (No. 16, Plate 18); they are most probably of Henry VII. There was subsequently a penny struck with the types of the groat with the crown, and no legend.

The last Irish coins of this reign are groats exactly similar to the English groats, but with *CIVITAS DUBLINIE*, or *CIVITAS WATERFORD*, in the inner circle of the reverse. (See English groat of Henry V., No. 20, Plate 4.)

The Anglo-Gallic coins of Henry V. and Henry VI., form a fine series of considerable variety, only the most striking of which can be described in a condensed work of this extent. The *Mouton d'or* (Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 5), is a fine gold coin of Henry V., issued as actual sovereign of both England and France, which received its name from the principal type, the lamb. Nos. 13 and 14, Plate 5, are the "Salute" of Henry VI., issued after his coronation at Paris. It received its popular name from the type of the obverse, the "salutation of the Virgin," very quaintly and beautifully executed, in the most pleasing style of gothic art. It was one of the last of the fine series of Anglo-Gallic coins, as the reverses consequent on the premature death of Henry V., soon deprived the English of the whole of their continental possessions, except the solitary town of Calais.

Edward IV. (1461 to 1483). His silver coins are exactly like those of the several preceding reigns, with the exception, in some cases, of marks or letters on the field or breast. The specimen (a groat), No. 22, Plate 4, has a quatre foil on each side of the neck, a crescent on the breast, and an annulet preceding, and a rose terminating the legend, "Edward Di. Gra. Rex. Angl. z. Franc." The reverse, which I have not thought it necessary to give, has, as in the previous reigns, "Posui," etc. The weight of the penny was reduced, after his fourteenth year, to twelve grains. A great variety of his coins of different mints exist, but all of one type, only varying in mint-marks and names of places of mintage.

The gold coinage of this reign, on account of several changes that took place, is more interesting than any since Edward III.

The first issue established the nobles to pass at 8*s.* 4*d.*; by which it will easily be perceived that the value of the precious metals was now rapidly rising, and that less gold and silver were put into coins, the nominal value of which remained the same; or, as in the case of the nobles above mentioned, the nominal value of the coin was increased in accordance with the raised price of the metal.

In another coinage, an increased price was given for bullion at the mint, to ensure a supply, for it had become scarce; and the weak king had recourse, about 1455, to the assistance of the alchymists, announcing, with confidence,

that he soon should be able to pay his debts with gold and silver produced by "the stone." The additional price offered at the mint, however, procured gold faster than "the stone," and a new issue of nobles took place, fifty being made out of the pound weight. Shortly afterwards this proportion was changed, and only forty-five were coined out of the pound weight; but they were to pass for 10s., and to be called *rials*, to distinguish them from the old nobles—a name borrowed from the French, who had coins called rials (royals), in consequence of their bearing the effigy of the king in his royal robes. In the case of the English coins, the name was less applicable, as they bore the same device, or nearly so, as the old nobles.

The angels and half-angels were new gold coins, so called from having the archangel Michael piercing a dragon with a spear. The reverse has a ship, with a large cross for the mast; the letter E on the right side, and a rose on the left; against the ship is a shield with the usual arms, as in the specimen, No. 23, Plate 4. The motto on the reverse of the half-angel was, "*O crux ave spes unica.*" This coin was probably intended to replace the old noble, superseded by the rial. The nobles and rials differ but slightly from the nobles of previous reigns, with the exception of having the central portion of the cross-fleurie of the reverse replaced by a sun, the badge of the king. Still further encroachments were perpetrated in this reign against the liberty of both the foreign and British merchant, principally with a view to prevent the exportation of coin.

The changes effected in the Irish coinage in this reign are somewhat remarkable. In the beginning of the reign it was enacted that a *maile* and *quadrant* of silver should be made in the castle of Dublin of the same type as the new *denier*; these were continental terms, more frequently applied to the Irish coinage than to the English. The terms *maile* and *quadrant* refer to the silver halfpence and farthings, of the types of the penny, or denier. Soon afterwards a base coin, four to go to the penny, was ordered to be struck in Ireland, but none have been found. In the third year of this reign groats were struck of the same type as those of Henry VI., with the crown without legend. These coins have a tressure of seven arches instead of twelve, as in those of Henry VI. Pennies of the same type were also issued (No. 17, Plate 18), as well as brass Patricks similar to those of Henry VI., eight to the penny: also a new brass coin, having a bishop's head, and the legend PATRICK on the obverse, and on the reverse the word SALVATOR. This coin was to go for one penny. No examples of this coin were known till Mr. Butler published a specimen lately discovered at Trim.

There are also Irish groats of this reign very similar to the English groat, only having the title, "Dominus Hibernie," on the obverse in addition to the name, and on the reverse, "Civitas Dublinie," in the inner circle. (See English groat, Plate 4, No. 22.) These coins were also struck at Waterford, Limerick, and Trim; but of the two last-named places none have been found.



The most remarkable coinage of Irish groats was one with a new type, having a cross on one side, and a sun on the other, and with which were issued pennies with a rose on one side, and a cross on the other, but no Act has been found referring to such an issue.

Another new coinage, that referred to in Act 7, Edw. IV., consists of groats, halfgroats, and pence, having the head in the style of the English groats on one side, and the radiated sun, the favourite device of this prince, for the reverse; similar to that found on his English rials, which have in consequence been termed *Spur* rials. Coins of this type were ordered to be made at several mints, but only those of Dublin are known. Many false coins were made in this reign, by persons pretending to hold letters-patent, and others, against all of whom bills of attainder were issued. The king's master of the mint, Geronym Lynch, was also attainted for making light coin, but subsequently pardoned, and reinstated in his offices.\*

There were also several Irish coinages in this reign, of groats, etc., of precisely the English types, differing only in the titles and the names of the places of mintage; but the last coinage of the reign was of entirely new device, and of a national character, having on the reverse the arms of Ireland, "three crowns" in a cross, in pale, and on the obverse the arms of England and France, quarterly, on a shield, separated by a similar cross, extending to the edge of the coin. No. 16, Plate 18, is a groat of this coinage, which is remarkable, as an example of placing a true heraldic shield of arms on the silver coinage of Ireland before it had appeared on that of England. On the obverse, the legend is, REX. ANGLIE. FRANCIE., without the king's name; and on the reverse, DOMINVS HIBERNIE, also without the king's name.

A second variety of this type, differing in having the addition of the king's name, and the name of the city of Dublin, and an interesting variety bearing the arms of the earls of Kildare on each side of the arms of England and France, have recently been discovered. This is probably the mint-mark of coins struck by that family, as chiefs of one of the Irish mints. There are several other varieties of this type.

Towards the close of this reign a small brass coin appears to have been struck, of which there is no record. It must have been of the value of the Patrick—eight to the penny—and has three small crowns on a shield on the obverse, with a rose and sun in the centre of a long cross for reverse, with the usual legend. (See Plate 18, No. 18.)

The brass coins here alluded to in this reign are analogous to the base money of the Continent, and of Scotland, known as "black money."

The Irish coinage became lighter than the English at this period, and continued to do so to a greater extent in the subsequent reigns.

Of Edward V. no coins are known.

\* Mr. Butler. *Numismatic Journal*.

Richard III. (1483 to 1485). In the two years of his brief but energetic reign, he contrived to issue a considerable coinage; but his coins are, nevertheless, more or less rare. Their type is precisely similar to those of his predecessors, and the proportion of 12 grains to the penny was the standard of weight. The specimen (No. 24, Plate 4) is the obverse of a groat, having "Ricard. Di. Gra. Rex. Angl. z. Franc.," with his crest (the boar's head) for the London mint-mark. The reverse as before, with the motto, "Posui," etc. He issued groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpence; but no farthings have yet been found. His gold coins are precisely similar to those of Edward IV.; it is, therefore, unnecessary to give a specimen; the angelets, or half-angels, have sometimes the mint-mark of a boar's head, like the groat.

The only Irish coins of Richard III. are of the same type as those of the English coinage, except as to the name of the place of mintage.

## CHAPTER VI.

## COINS OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.

## FROM HENRY VII. TO EDWARD VI.

HENRY VII., from 1485 to 1509. The groats, pennies, etc., of the first portion of this reign continued the same as in the previous one, and have all till recently been confounded with those of Henry VI. The sagacious ingenuity of a numismatist,\* by referring carefully to the episcopal mint-marks, has at last solved the difficulty by discovering on a York penny, that of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop, who did not possess the see of York till 1480, while Henry VI. died in 1461, the mark "T." on the one side of the neck, and a key on the other. The pennies with that mark are, therefore, indubitably those of Henry VII. Specimen No. 1, Plate 6, is a groat, now in the British Museum, which has also been assigned to Henry VII. The reverse is exactly similar to those of previous reigns. The weight is 48 grains, and as the pennies of Henry VI. were only reduced to twelve grains during the short period of his restoration, it is very improbable that all the groats corresponding to that weight should belong to that period, and therefore this coin, from that and other causes, has been assigned to Henry VII.

In the second style of coinage of this reign, the design of the crown is changed from the open crown of fleur-de-lis, of his own previous coins, and of those of so many of his predecessors, to an arched crown, sometimes called an imperial crown. It has also been stated that there is some attempt at a portrait in the full face; but this I am not able to discover. This coinage is of course easily distinguished from those of the previous reigns. The specimen (No. 2, Plate 6) is a groat of this coinage; it has the usual motto, but the tressure is enriched with small roses in the angles or spandrils. The reverse is precisely as before.

Other groats of this period vary in the number and richness of the tressures which surround the head, and also in the style of the crown, though always arched. The reverses still continued to be of the old type.

Specimen 3, Plate 6, is a penny, having the arched crown; in the motto France is omitted. The reverses also still continued the old type, or nearly

\* Mr. Cuff.









so. Folkes mentions a piece of this period (at Cambridge), which appears to have been a trial for a twenty-penny piece.

The eighteenth year of this reign (1503) was marked by an entirely new coinage, in which the silver coins, for the first time, received some attention as to their artistic execution; a positive portrait profile being attempted, and in fact very fairly executed. The shield with the royal arms was now first adopted for the reverse; and, in short, the model, of which the types of the coinage of our own times have been but modifications, was now first adopted.

This was the most florid and decorative period of mediæval art; the English version of (so-termed) *Gothic* art, had attained its highest degree of complication and perhaps over-loaded richness, as exhibited in the king's celebrated chapel at Westminster—while in France, at a somewhat earlier period, it had taken a similar direction, but towards a still more overwrought character, combined, however, with greater boldness, which has earned for it, in architecture, the title of *Gothique flamboyant*. Other arts besides that of architecture were rapidly assuming, if I may use the term, an intensely decorative character, especially those of the goldsmith, and the book decorator or illuminator, which latter art now reached its zenith; and we must not overlook the intricate monuments of iron-work of the celebrated blacksmith of Antwerp. It is not so surprising, therefore, that a change at last took place in the style of the coinage, as that it did not take place before; and that, when it did, it was not still more in the rich, highly-wrought style of the general art of the period.

We know by the great seals of the respective monarchs, at all events since Edward III., that there were artists at command who could design and execute intricate models suited to coins; such as the sovereign in regal robes, sitting beneath a rich canopy, surrounded by the emblems of state; and on the Continent such devices had long been placed upon coins; but it was not till this reign that in England anything like the rich device of the great seals was transferred to our coins. Such a design now first appeared on the principal gold coin of this reign, a large piece called the "sovereign."

The most remarkable feature in the new silver coinage was the issue of the shilling; this main feature of our present silver coinage being first coined in the 18th year of the reign of Henry VII.; and which thus, at last, had a form as well as name; for, as has been stated, the term *shilling* had long been in use as "money of account," though no real coin of that value or name was in existence. Of groats, half-groats, and pennies (but no halfpennies or farthings), there was also an issue in this new coinage. No. 4, Plate 6, is a specimen of the shilling; the legend is "Henric. VII.\* Di. Gra. Rex. Angl. z. Fr."—the first instance of the use of numerals after the name, since Henry III., whose coins are a nearly solitary instance of its occurrence in the earlier

\* On my example, it is "*septim*," instead of "VII."



periods. Sometimes this coinage has "Sept." or "Septimus," instead of VII. The half-groats of this issue exactly resembled the groat and shillings, except in the absence of the numerals or "Sept." after the name.

Some of the pennies have the king seated on a throne, as on the gold double rials or sovereigns, with simply "Henric. Di. Gra. Rex."—the reverse having the arms, etc. The pennies issued with this device are of the ecclesiastical mints; principally Durham, with the initials of Dunelmensis, Sherwood, the bishop, and the upper limb of the cross turned into a crozier on the reverse.

The name of the place of mintage was omitted in the third class of coins of this reign, in the inner circle of the reverse of the shilling, groats, and half-groats, but continued as the legend on the reverse of the smaller pieces.

The great feature of the gold coinage of this reign, was the issue of the double rial (or royal),—twenty-two and a half such pieces to be coined out of the pound weight tower. On this piece the king is represented in the royal robes as on the rials of France, and it might thus receive the name more legitimately than those of Edward IV.; but to distinguish it from the previous rial, it was determined to call it a "sovereign," a term which disappeared after a few reigns, not to be again adopted till the great new coinage of George III., in 1817. The title on the obverse is, "Henricus Dei Gracia Rex Anglie et Francie Dns Ibar." (Specimen No. 5, Plate 6.)

On the reverse of this piece the last trace of the old cross-fleurie of the nobles of Edward III. disappears, and a tressure of ten arches encloses the heraldic rose, in the centre of which is placed a shield with the arms. There are other varieties of this reverse, some having the shield surmounted by a crown, in which case the rose occupies the whole field, to the exclusion of the tressures; in another case, the rose, though larger than in our specimen, is somewhat less than the last mentioned, and differently arranged. Specimens are known of a half-sovereign, peculiar from having only the arms of France; the obverse having the king in a ship with two flags, one bearing the letter "H," and the other the English dragon. The angel and half-angel differed little from those of Edward IV.

The avarice of the king having caused much light money to be made, and many pieces also being clipped, great complaints arose, which were silenced in a rather summary manner, for it was therefore enacted that no person should refuse the king's coin, if good gold and silver, on account of thinness, on pain of imprisonment or *death*. By the year 1509 he had, through this mode of working the coinage, and by imposing extravagant fines and other extortions, collected greater riches than had ever before been possessed by an English king; and the last of the stringent commercial regulations respecting the bullion was passed in this reign, referring to the "royal exchangers;" persons through whose hands all bills of exchange were compelled to pass for adjustment.

Though no official documents relating to the Irish coinage of Henry VII. have been discovered, it is evident, from the large number of specimens in existence, which can only be attributed to this reign, that a considerable quantity of coin was struck by him in Ireland.

The groats of the type of Edward IV., with the three crowns, are sometimes attributed to Henry VI., but are generally thought to belong to the reign of Henry VII.

I have stated that few Irish coins can be with certainty attributed to Richard III. and Henry VII.; few coins of these reigns having been preserved, if ever issued; while those known are generally groats of the English type, with the conventional king's head.

The Irish coins evidently belonging to this reign consist, therefore, of groats and half-groats, the pennies being very rare, of the two varieties of the English type—that with the head wearing the old or flat crown, and that with the head wearing the arched crown. The style of these coins may be known by reference to the English specimens (Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 6), from which they differed little, except in having an Irish place of mintage on the reverse, "*Civitas Dublinie*," those of no other Irish mint having been discovered of this reign; they are also lighter than the English coin.

The groats, half-groats, and pennies, attributed to this reign, with the types of Edward IV., the arms of England on the obverse, and those of Ireland, the three crowns, on the reverse, are, as above remarked, doubtful.

The groats issued by the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, are supposed to have been struck for him by the Duchess of Burgundy; they have the arms of England on a crowned shield for obverse, with the motto "*Domine Salvum fac Regem*" (God save the king), and on the reverse the curiously-selected motto, "*Mani Techel Phares*," and the date 1478. (See Plate 5, Nos. 15 and 16.)

Henry VIII. (1509 to 1547). The silver coinage of Henry VIII. may be divided into five classes; the first exactly resembles the third coinage of his father, even the head being the same; the numerals alone being altered from "VII." to "VIII." The farthings of this coinage are very rare.

Folkes has engraved a large silver piece of Henry VIII., which he calls a quadruple testoon, which in the Pembroke collection appears to have been called a silver crown. It is, however, crossed out in the manuscript catalogue of that celebrated cabinet.

The second coinage has a likeness of the king in profile, which may easily be distinguished, as he appears both younger and fatter than his father; the reverse remaining the same. The half-groats are similar, but those of York have Wolsey's initials, and the cardinal's hat on the reverse. The pennies have the king on the throne, with the motto "*Rosa sine spina*." The half-pennies have still the old cross and pellets; and the farthings, like those of his first coinage, have the portcullis, which appears for the first time on the coins

in this reign. There are other varieties of the coinage of this epoch, but more rare.

In the third coinage of this reign the weight of the penny was reduced to ten grains, and that of other silver coins in proportion, a great increase of alloy (two ounces in twelve) being used. The execution of this coinage—which consisted of shillings, pence and halfpence, groats and half-groats—was bold and striking; the portrait of the king being a front or three-quarter face, an excellent likeness, especially on the shillings, or testoons, as they were named; the reverse of which was a large rose and a crown, a very handsome device, with the old motto “Posui,” etc., which was still preserved. The groats and smaller pieces have the old reverses, the halfpennies still exhibiting the ancient type of the cross and pellets.

The types continued the same on the fourth coinage, but an infamous degree of debasement took place;\* the pennies being of the same weight (ten grains), but the alloy increased to the amount of half alloy to half silver. The fifth coinage, in the following year, was still more debased, and the motto on the groats was changed to “redde cuique quod suum est;” seeming like a satirical joke upon the fraud thus committed on the public, but probably not so intended.

The specimen (No. 7, Plate 6) is a shilling or testoon of the third coinage, with the full face, an excellent likeness, in the ordinary dress of the time, but wearing the crown, with the legend, “Henric. 8 G. D. Angl. Franc. z. Hib. Rex.” The reverse (No. 7), a well-executed rose and crown, with “H. R.” crowned, and the old motto “Posui,” etc. It is supposed that the testoon was so named from a French coin of similar value, which, on first receiving the impression of a portrait *head*, was called a *teste-on*. This term did not continue long attached to the English coin, and the old national term, shilling, soon resumed its place. The groats and half-groats were similar, but with the faces not quite so full.

The specimen (No. 6, Plate 6) is a York half-groat of the second coinage, with the initials of Wolsey “T. W.” and the cardinal’s hat. Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 6, are the obverse and reverse of a farthing of the portcullis type.

The initials and hat of Wolsey on these coins, were mentioned among the frivolous charges brought against him on his fall. The passage is cited by Lord Coke :—“Also the said Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterprised to join and imprint the cardinal’s hat under your arms in your coin of groats, made at your City of York, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any subject within your realm before this time.” It is very true that a cardinal’s hat had not been used before as a mint-mark, but only because the previous bishops of

\* These base coins having the full face of the king, soon began to show the inferior metal at the end of the nose, the most prominent part; and hence his sobriquet, “Old Copper Nose.”

York were not cardinals; such badges as they were entitled to, both of family arms and ecclesiastical title, having been commonly used before—as the crozier, the mitre, etc. etc.; by which it will be seen that this charge was frivolous and ridiculous; but his fall being resolved on, such charges, or less, under a comparative despotism, would have been all-sufficient. Nos. 9 and 10 are the obverse and reverse of a halfpenny of the third coinage.

During his temporary conquests in France, this sovereign coined money at Tournaye. The issue consisted of silver groats, which are classed with the Anglo-Gallic coinage of the English sovereigns. (Specimen Nos. 17 and 18, Plate 5.)

The gold coins issued during this reign display the quaint characteristics of the German art of the period, which, through Albert Dürer, Lucas von Leyden, etc., influenced the whole of central Europe. This taste was more firmly established in England by Holbein, and may be especially traced on our national coinage in the angular folds of the king's robes in the obverse of the "sovereign." The gold coinage was also debased at this time, to make it accord in value with the coins of the Continent; the old sovereigns being ordered to pass first for twenty-two shillings, and afterwards for twenty-two shillings and sixpence.

The first sovereigns had on the reverse the large rose with the arms in the centre, but afterwards the royal arms surmounted by the crown, and supported by a lion and dragon; the first example of heraldic supporters on our coins. (No. 13, Plate 6.) There were half-sovereigns of both sorts; and also the old noble, now called the "rose noble," to distinguish it from the new George noble which had been recently issued. St. George and the Dragon formed the type of the obverse of this coin; a device which was not repeated in any subsequent reign till it was adopted in that of George III. as the reverse of the silver five-shilling pieces and sovereigns. The angel was still coined as before, but crowns and half-crowns of gold were now added for the first time; one type having for reverse the crown and rose, similar to the testoon or shilling, the other a cross-fleurie, with a large rose in the middle: both had the crowned arms for obverse. (See specimen No. 13, Plate 6.)

Specimen No. 13, Plate 6, is the sovereign, having the king seated on the throne, with "Henric. Di. Gra. Ang. Franc. z. Hib. Rex.," and the reverse with the royal arms, surmounted by the crown, and supported by the lion and dragon.

No. 14, Plate 6, is the George noble, having St. George on horseback, in the costume of the time, about to transfix the dragon, with the motto "Tali dicatt sig. mes fluctuari neqt.," more or less abbreviated, and the reverse a ship with three crosses for masts, and a rose on the centre mast, with the motto "Henricus D. G.," etc.

The angel of Henry VIII., closely resembled those of the previous reigns ; the motto on the reverse being "PER. CRUCE. TVA. SALVA NOS. XRE REDET.," more or less abbreviated. ("By Thy cross save us, Christ the redeemer.")

No. 15, Plate 6, is a gold crown, differing from the half-crown, with rose and crown and "H. R." in the field, and the legend "Henric. 8. Dei. Gra.," etc., on the obverse ; and on the reverse, "*Henric VIII., rutilans rosa sine spina.*"

In this reign the pound troy superseded the pound tower in the mint, and the standard of gold was settled, which has ever since been termed crown gold. It was in the latter years of the reign, debased, but the standard, correctly termed crown gold, was twenty-two carats fine, to two carats alloy.

The excessive debasement of the silver coin in this reign, was the first blow struck against the oppressive regulations passed in previous reigns with a view to prevent the export of coin ; for it caused foreigners to prefer merchandise or bills of exchange, which thus at once rendered the whole oppressive machinery useless, except the office of royal exchanger ; against which, however, the elder Gresham\* pleaded so wisely and so boldly, that the stern and obstinate Tudor listened, and if he did not at once abolish the office, it became nearly a sinecure.

The most remarkable Irish coins of this reign are the series of groats with the arms of England, crowned, on the obverse, and the Irish harp, crowned, on the reverse, with the "R. H." on each side of the harp ; and on later issues, in succession, the letters H. A., for "Henry and Anna," during his marriage with Anne Boleyn. H. J. for "Henry and Jane Seymour ;" and H. K. for "Henry and Catherine Howard." (See No. 19, Plate 18, one of the Anna Boleyn groats.) Half-groats of these types are also known, but are very rare. In this reign the title of "King of Ireland," was adopted on the coins, instead of the old style, "Lord" or "Dominus."

In the thirty-sixth year of this reign pieces of sixpence, threepence, three-halfpence, and three-farthing were first struck in Ireland, similar to the coinage issued in England at the same time. They had a three-quarter face of the king on the obverse, and the arms of England, traversed by a long cross, on the reverse. The inscriptions were, on the larger pieces, HENRIC. 8 D.G. A.G.L. F.R.A. Z. HIB. REX., differently abbreviated for "Henricus VIII. Dei Gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Rex ;" and on the reverse the place of mintage, "Civitas Dublinie." The three-halfpenny pieces had H. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA., and on the reverse CIVITAS DUBLINIE. The three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces are of the greatest rarity.

Several forgeries, with rude and blundered legends, which were put into circulation in this reign, are occasionally found. The Irish coinage being

\* Father of the builder of the Royal Exchange.

greatly debased in the royal mint, was probably the principal incentive to the numerous forgeries.

Edward VI. (1547 to 1553). This prince was little more than nine years of age when he ascended the throne, but in the journal which he kept, in his own writing, and which is still preserved in the British Museum, he made several entries respecting the coinage, which show that he had been taught to appreciate the subject. It was determined that the base state in which Henry VIII. had left it should be remedied, but an honest way of going about the work does not appear to have occurred either to the youthful king or his ministers. The first silver coinage he issued was of the same low standard as the last of the previous reign; viz., 4 ounces of silver to 8 ounces of alloy, and the penny was of 10 grains.

Of this issue there were also testoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings; but groats, half-groats, and pennies, only are known. They have a well-executed profile of the king, and the reverse has the arms traversed by a cross; the motto as before. The penny has the legend "*E. D. G. rosa sine spina*," variously abbreviated. In the third year of the reign there was an attempt made to improve the coinage by issuing shillings of 5 to 6 ounces alloy. They have the king's profile, crowned, not very different from the previous groats, but have in the legend the Roman numerals VI. instead of the Arabic 6, as in the groats; and the reverses have, for the first time, an oval shield without a cross, decorated in a style of ornament which then began to supersede the (so-called) Gothic manner, a further modification of which has since been termed "Elizabethan;" the motto was "*Timor Domini fons vitæ, MDXLIV.*"\* round the head, and the name and titles on the reverse; but some had the name and titles round the head, and "*Inimicos ejus induam confusione*" (Psalm cxxxii., verse 19);—the date, being now introduced for the first time on the English coinage.

This issue seems rather to have added to the confusion: testoons were soon cried down to ninepence, and other coins in proportion, robbing the public to the amount of one-fourth of the original value of the silver coinage. Subsequently the shillings were cried down to sixpence, and eventually, in the reign of Elizabeth, these base shillings were marked with a particular mint-mark (a portcullis in some cases), and ordered to pass for fourpence-half-penny; so that, in the end, a fraud of three-fourths of the nominal amount of the base coinage was effected. This dishonest abuse of power is alarming to contemplate, even at a distance; but is happily rendered impossible in our own more fortunate times, by improved institutions and the popular curb placed upon monarchic power.

The confusion in the value of the precious metals, at this time, appears to have been extreme; silver being rated at 12*s.* the ounce, and gold at only

\* Proverbs xiv., verse 27.

60s., so that gold was only made five times more valuable than silver; and in the third year of the reign, when gold was rated at 48s., it was only made four times the value of pure silver. There could, it would appear, have been no freedom in the exchanges, or the value of gold must have been eleven times greater than that of silver.

Stowe tells us that "the base money caused the old sterling moneys to be hoarded up, so that he had himself seen 21s. given for an old angel to guild with-all."\* It seems scarcely credible that after the crying down of the shillings to ninepence (and those, in fact, only worth fourpence-halfpenny), that a still baser coinage was issued; and to ascertain with what view, let us see the king's own journal:—"It was appointed to make 20,000 pounds weight *somewhat baser*, to get *gains* £15,000 clear, by which," etc. etc., the coin was to be amended!! The silver now issued had 9 ounces of alloy to 3 ounces of silver. These coins bear the same types as the preceding ones, and in the reign of Elizabeth they were stamped with a grayhound, and ordered to pass for twopence-farthing. The base shillings were alluded to by Bishop Latimer,† in a remarkable passage of one of his sermons:—"We have now a pretty little shilling, a very pretty shilling," etc., but "the fineness of the silver I cannot see, yet thereon is printed a fine sentence, 'Timor domini fons vitæ'—'The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life.' I would to God this sentence was always printed in the heart of the king." In another place, speaking of the baseness of the coinage, he says, applying a text of Isaiah, "Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam:" "Thy silver is turned into—what? into testions? No! Scoriam! into dross!" These passages both occurred in sermons preached before the king. Such allusions having been spoken of as seditious, Latimer replied, in a subsequent discourse, alluding to the passage in Isaiah:—"Thus they burdened me ever with sedition," etc.; "but I have now gotton one fellow more a companion in sedition, and wot you who is my fellow?—Esay, the prophet."

Of all ways that were tried to keep up the circulation of a base currency, the most determined were proclamations, *ordering* the people, under severe penalties, to bring corn and provisions to the markets, which they withheld in consequence of the bad money. Next, arbitrary prices were fixed for bread, butter, poultry, etc. But, all proving ineffectual, it was at length determined really to be honest, and to reform the coinage in the true sense of the word.

In 1551, crowns, and half-crowns (the first issued in England), shillings, sixpences, and threepences were issued of silver—11 oz. 1 dwt. fine, to 19 dwts. of alloy, only 1 dwt. worse than the old standard; and thus five shillings of silver became truly worth five of gold. The silver, in the indentures respecting this coinage, made no doubt upon correct, but too tardy information on the

\* The angel ought to have been current for 6s. 8d.

subject, was rated at 5*s.* 5*d.* the ounce, while gold was at 60*s.*; showing that the proper value of gold, with reference to silver, was as eleven to one. Notwithstanding this excellent advance in the right direction, groats were afterwards issued, as well as pennies and halfpennies, of base metal, by which the government still sought dishonest gain. It was at this time (1551) agreed that the "stamp on the shilling and sixpence should be on one side a king to the shoulders, in parliament robes, with the collar of the Garter," etc., and that the five-shilling, and half five-shillings, should have "a king on horseback," etc. Also, that the fine moneys should be coined in the Tower, and in Southwark; and the smaller pieces, of baser metal, at Canterbury and York.

No. 16, Plate 6, is the reverse of the shilling, on which the oval shield, etc., was first used for the reverse.

No. 17, Plate 6, is a crown of the fine coinage of 1552; it has the king crowned, on horseback, wearing the armour of the period; the horse, the housings, and the figure of the king, better executed, as to correct drawing, than the devices of any previous British coins. It has likewise the peculiarity of the date, now newly used on the coins; the title is as on the previous shillings: on the reverse, the oval shield is abandoned, and the arms traversed by the cross, again used, with the old motto, "Posui," etc.

No. 18, Plate 6, is a sixpence of this coinage; and the same types appeared on the shillings and threepenny pieces, namely, a nearly full face of the king, in parliament robes, with the collar of the Garter, and numerals on the field, to denote its value—the shillings having XII., and the threepences III.; which was the first time the value of the coins was so marked on the coinage of England. The reverses have the arms on the pointed shield, with the cross, and the motto, "Posui," etc.

The London pennies of baser silver, coined at this time, had the king on a throne, with "E. D. G. ROSA SINE SP.:" and on the reverse, the arms, with "Civitas London." The York pennies had a simple rose, with "Rosa," etc. The reverse like the London ones, but with "Civitas Eboraci."

Each coinage had distinct mint-marks, the tun, the rose, a swan, etc.

No. 19, Plate 6, shows the obverse and reverse of a York penny.

Of the gold coinage of this reign it may be said, that our gold had never been so much debased. It was remarkable, however, in the later issues, for its improvement in execution, and the complete disappearance of the *Gothic* feeling of art. The earlier issue of double sovereigns, sovereigns, and angels, closely resembled the sovereigns and angels of the previous reign; too closely to render an example necessary, yet distinguished easily by the name, etc. In the subsequent coinages, of which the specimens given are examples, the gold coins assumed a new, and, artistically considered, very superior character, if not quite so picturesque.

Different standards of gold continued to be used after the reform of the coinage: for instance, a pound weight of gold, of 28 carats fine to 1 carat



alloy, was coined into 24 sovereigns of 30 shillings, equal to 36 sovereigns of 20 shillings each; while a pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine to 2 carats alloy, was coined into 33 sovereigns of 20 shillings each.

Specimen No. 20, Plate 6, is a treble sovereign. It has the king enthroned (the Gothic character having quite disappeared), with the usual name and title: the reverse has the arms, supported by a lion and a dragon standing on a scrolled ornament, in the new style, with the letters E. R., the motto being still the old one of Edward III.—“Jesus autem,” etc.

Specimen No. 21, Plate 6, is the obverse of a still later coinage, of the pattern of which, sovereigns, half-sovereigns, five-shilling pieces, and two-shilling-and-sixpenny pieces were coined; the sovereign only differing in having supporters to the arms on the reverse like the previous sovereigns, and the other pieces having E. R. on either side the arms. The mottoes on the sovereigns and half-sovereigns are “Jesus autem,” etc.; on the crown, “Scutum fidei proteget eum;” and on the half-crown the same, abbreviated. The three-quarter figure of the king, in embossed armour, on these pieces, is very elegant, and rather in the Italian style of art which prevailed in England and France at this period, and which, in the English coinage, is confined to this reign, and does not re-appear.

A crown of another pattern was issued, having the king's bust in armour, and bareheaded, on the obverse; and on the reverse, the crowned rose. The half-crown of this type had the rose, without stalk. There are also sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, and half-crowns, with the same bust, but having the oval shield (like the shillings) on the reverse. Another series only varies from the last mentioned by having the head crowned.

A six-angel piece of beautiful workmanship is figured by Folkes; the figure of the angel being in the high Italian school, and might almost be termed Raffaelesque. The reverse, instead of an old ship or galley of the time of Edward III., accurately copied on some gold pieces up to this period, with the figure of a size which reduces the ship to the dimensions of a slipper-bath, has a fine ship of the sixteenth century, (the grand original type of our three-deckers of the present day), bearing a shield, with the royal arms, on the side, behind which, is a figure in something like proper proportion, other figures being placed in the rigging, to give due effect to the dimensions of the vessel. This is, perhaps, the finest piece in the annals of English coinage, prior to the reforms and the introduction of the mill and screw under the government of Cromwell; it is, however, only a pattern, and as *coin*, was never issued. I have not, therefore, engraved it in this work.

Although acts were prepared, during this reign, with a view to the striking of money in Ireland, it is doubtful whether any was issued; no pieces having been discovered which can be with any certainty assigned to Edward VI. .









## CHAPTER VII.

## COINS OF MARY, MARY AND PHILIP, AND ELIZABETH.

MARY, (1553 to 1558), on her accession, declared her *intention* of restoring the old standard in the silver coinage, namely, 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine, and 18 dwt. alloy: but, instead of that, the new coinage fell 1 dwt. lower than the last of Edward VI. On her first coins she is represented in profile, crowned, and styled "Maria D. G. Ang. Fra. z. Hib. Regi." The motto of the reverse is frequently "Veritas temporis filia"—("Truth is the daughter of Time"), suggested, it is supposed, by the Romish priesthood, in allusion to the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith, after its suppression during two reigns. On her first coins, subsequent to her marriage with Philip of Spain, the queen's head appears crowned as before, with the legend "Philip z. Maria D. G. Rex. et Regina," for "Philip et Maria Dei Gratia Rex et Regina." Soon afterwards, however, a coinage was issued, partly, no doubt, from the treasure brought over by Philip, and sent with so much ostentation to the Tower, on which the bust of Philip appears facing her own: to which Butler alludes in the lines:—

"Still amorous, fond, and billing,  
Like Philip and Mary upon a shilling."

The legend on these coins stood "Philip et Maria D. G. R. Ang. Fr. Neap. Pr. Hisp.," and on the reverse, the old motto, "Posui," etc., was changed to the plural, as, "Posuimus Deum, adiutorem nostrum."

There is another pattern shilling having the king's head on one side, and the queen's on the other, with the same legend, "Philippus Dei G. R. Ang. Fr. Neap. Pr. Hisp.," on one side, and "Maria," with the same titles, on the other; this coin has the date 1554, and the earliest of the above described have the same date; others are dated 1557.

After Philip became king of Spain, by the abdication of his father, the title of "Prince of Spain" became inconsistent, and all allusion to foreign dominion was omitted, the legend standing "Philip et Maria D. G. Rex et Regina Ang.," for although Philip had now become king of Spain, he never assumed that title on the English coinage.

The motto of the reverse remained the same, and the Spanish arms were impaled on the right side, and the English on the left.

Specimen No. 4, Plate 7, is a groat previous to her marriage.

Specimen No. 6, Plate 7, is the shilling, on which the head of the queen occupies one side, and that of the king the other.

Specimen No. 5, Plate 7, is a shilling, with the busts facing each other. There were also coined pennies of strongly alloyed silver, some with the queen's profile, some with the rose; both having the motto, "*Rosa sine spina*," on the obverse, and the place of mintage on the reverse, and others like No. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Plate 7.

The gold coinage of Mary does not exhibit a continuation of the improvement in style commenced by her predecessor. There were issued sovereigns, to be current at thirty shillings; half-sovereigns, to be called royals of gold, for fifteen shillings; the angel, to be current at ten shillings; and the half-royal, at five shillings. It is somewhat singular that no traces of Philip appear on the gold coins, except in the inscriptions.

The sovereign (Specimen 1, Plate 7) is a return to the precise style of art of those of Henry VII. and VIII. The Rial of gold, or half-sovereign (No. 2, Plate 7), has the old ship, with the figure holding the shield and sword, transformed to a female, and the reverse like the Spur Rials of Edward IV.; while the angels have precisely the old type, rather more coarsely done. Specimen 3, Plate 7, is an angelet, or half-angel. It was, probably, with a strong Roman Catholic feeling, of reducing all things to the state and form they occupied previous to the Reformation, that this retrograde movement in the art, applied to the coinage, took place.

In this reign, and that of Elizabeth, legislative interference with the import and export of coin was in a sort of transition state, most of the acts remaining in force, but inactive; the prejudices of the commercial interest of the country being, from sheer habit, favourable to their retention. It may save trouble to mention, at once, that in the reign of James I. the last part of this machinery, that of the office of royal exchanger, was swept away, its abolition being retarded in consequence of the Burleighs holding its emoluments as a sinecure; but public opinion changed, and its mischievous as well as troublesome tendency becoming evident to all, it was at last swept away.

In the year 1553 shillings, groats, half-groats, and pennies, were struck in Ireland, having a good profile of the queen on the obverse, equal to that on the English coinage (see Plate 7, No. 4), and on the reverse the Irish harp, "crowned" between the letters "M. R.," also surmounted by small crowns; the legend on the shillings and groats, is "*Maria D. G. Ang. Fra. z. Hib. Regina*;" more abbreviated on the half-groats; the legend of all the reverses being, like that of some of her gold coinages of England, "*Veritas Temporis Filia*," with the dates 1553 and 1554.

These coins are of as good silver as the English coinage of this reign, but the penny in the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet appears sufficient evidence to substantiate the statement of Simon, that a base coinage was also issued of as coarse and base a metal as that used in the reign of Henry VIII.

After her marriage, Irish coins were struck with the portraits of the king

and queen facing each other, and the legend "Philip et Maria D. G. Rex. et Regina Ang.," with the date 1555; the reverse was the same as on the previous issues, with the exception that the crowned initials were "P. M.," and the legend "Posuimus Deum Adjutorem Nostrum."

In this reign (1557) the circulation of the English rose pennies of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was restricted to Ireland; and in this and future reigns the name of the Dublin mint was omitted on the Irish coinage, and mint-marks used, as on the English money.

Elizabeth (1558 to 1602). The complete restoration of the integrity of the currency is justly ascribed to Elizabeth, although she only gave the finishing hand to what had been already commenced by her brother. In the first instance she only ascertained the amount of silver in the base money, and caused it to be stamped and pass for its true value (a course which involved loss to the nation and gain to the government, which received back as  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. that which it had issued as 12d., for which, perhaps, we do not owe her much gratitude), but she afterwards produced a coinage scrupulously corresponding in weight and purity with its nominal value—with the exception, of course, of a deduction for that rate of profit or seignorage which had always been considered the fair privilege of the sovereign. It would appear, however, from the discovery of letters, etc. etc., in the state-paper office,\* that we are chiefly indebted for the originating and carrying out of this great measure to a London merchant—the same illustrious Gresham to whom the city owes its Royal Exchange and other useful institutions. It would appear that some difficulties occurred as to the mode of refining the base metal of which the existing silver coinage was composed, and Gresham, during his residence in Antwerp, effected arrangements with a great firm in that city for refining the whole for the remuneration of  $\frac{3}{4}$  oz. per pound of silver, and also the whole of the copper contained in it, for all the silver refined. The following is an extract from one of his letters, introducing one of the Flemish merchants to Sir Thomas Parry, treasurer of the queen's household:—"Albeit the enterprise is of great importance, and the sooner it is put in hand the more honour and proffyt it wolle be to the Quene's Majestie and the realme; for, doubtless, this will rayse the exchange to xxv. viiid. at the least."

Thus it would appear that the great cause of the very effectual reform of the coinage, was the growing wants of our rapidly-extending commerce, represented and advocated by the acute genius of Gresham. But no mention is of course made of him on the medal struck in honour of the queen, and to commemorate the event. Of the final return to good money, however, she should at least have shared the honours with her brother, Edward VI., by whom the good work was, at last, fairly begun, Elizabeth only putting the completing hand to it. But she saw, no doubt, the eventual† popularity that would

\* Discovered by Mr. Burgon.

† It was unpopular at the time, and no wonder, from the mode of carrying it into execution by compelling every man to give up for  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. the shilling for which he had given 12d.



accrue to her from connection with such a measure, and therefore made herself as conspicuous in it as possible, even going to the Tower and coining pieces of fine money with her own hand, which she graciously distributed to those immediately around her.

The coinage of her first three years consisted of shillings, groats, half-groats, and pennies, which were of the same fineness as the last of the preceding reign. But inconvenience being felt for want of small money, she soon after issued a coinage of sixpences, threepences, three-halfpences, and three-farthings, of the full old English standard of 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine silver, to 18 dwt. alloy.

Of these coins of three-halfpence and three-farthings, none were issued in previous or subsequent reigns; and yet Shakspeare, with that disregard of anachronism in such matters common to writers of that age, finding them current in his time, speaks of them as though they had been current in the reign of John, making Faulconbridge ridicule the leanness of his legitimate elder brother, by likening him to a "half-faced groat,"—referring to the new-made groats, which had a profile instead of full face;\* and then, referring to the rose on one side of the three-farthing pieces, he says he would not own

"a face so thin

That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,  
Lest men should say, Look where three-farthings goes."

Beaumont and Fletcher, in "The Scornful Lady," also refer to these three-farthings, which had a rose like the 6*d.*, 3*d.*, and 1½*d.* of this issue, at the side of the head, the erasure of which, made them look something like the penny of the earliest coinage of the reign. The passage occurs when speaking of a culprit who should be "whipped, and then cropt, for washing out the roses in *three-farthings*, to make them *pence*."

In the year 1582, these three-farthing and three-halfpenny pieces were discontinued, and shillings, half-groats, and pence, were revived, of similar types. Upon the whole of this coinage the date was placed, and seldom omitted on English coins afterwards. The small coins of this reign were the last that bore the name of the place of mintage, as "Civitas London," etc.

But the great event in the coinage of this period was the temporary introduction of the mill and screw, instead of the hammer and punch principle; by which reform in their mechanical production, coins of a much more workman-like and regular appearance were produced. Indeed, the regularity of this process, combined with the placing of the date on the coins, were, together, the cause of the ultimate discontinuance of mint-marks, previously rendered necessary in order that irregularities in weight, execution, etc., should be attributed to the proper mint and mintage.

As, in speaking of the money of this reign in particular, I have had fre-

\* It is well known that no groats of any description were executed in the days of John.

quent occasion to mention the mint marks, or privy marks, as they have usually been called in the mint, it may be necessary to say a word of the use and nature of those marks. I may therefore observe, that it had long been usual to oblige the masters and workers of the mint, in the indentures made with them, "to mark a privy mark on all the money that they made, as well of gold as of silver, so that at another time it might be known, if need were, which moneys of gold and silver, among other moneys, were of their own making, and which not." And after every trial of the *pix* (periodical courts of inquiry into the state of the different mints), at Westminster, the masters and workers of the mints having there proved their moneys to be lawful and good, were "entitled to receive their *quietus* under the great seal, and to be discharged from all suits or actions concerning those moneys:." it was then usual for the said masters or workers to change the privy mark before used for another, "that so the moneys from which they were not yet discharged might be distinguished from those for which they had already received their *quietus* : which new mark they then continued to stamp upon all their moneys, until another trial of the *pix* also gave them their *quietus* concerning those."

The *pix* is a strong case with three locks, whose keys are respectively kept by the warden, master, and comptroller of the mint; and in which are deposited, sealed up in several parcels, certain pieces taken at random out of every journey, as it is called, that is, out of every fifteen pounds weight of gold, and sixty pounds weight of silver. And this *pix* is from time to time, by the king's command, opened at Westminster, in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Lords of the Council, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Justices of several Benches, and the Barons of the Exchequer, before whom a trial is made, by a jury of goldsmiths empannelled and sworn for that purpose, of the collective weights of certain pieces of gold and silver selected at random from those taken from the *pix*. After which, those parcels being severally melted down, assays are made of the bullion of gold and silver so produced, by the melting certain small quantities of the same against equal weights taken from the respective trial pieces of gold and silver that are deposited and kept in the exchequer for that use. This is called the trial of the *pix*; the report made by the jury upon that trial is called the verdict of the *pix* for the time. But to return to the milled money:—Folkes tells us, "The maker of this milled money is reported to have been one Philip Mastrelle, a Frenchman, who eventually fell into the practice of coining counterfeit money, and was convicted, and executed at Tyburn, on the 27th of January, 1569." But Mr. Hawkins does not place any reliance upon this statement, and asserts that the name of the introducer of this process is unknown, and the whole history of its employment involved in obscurity. The principal feature in the new method was the power of ornamenting the edges of the coins: but the whole appearance of the money so produced was more workmanlike. Most of the milled coins in this reign may be distin-

guished by a star of five points at the end of the legend. Patterns of half-crowns exist of the coinage between 1561 and 1575, but none were issued till those of 1601 and 1602, which are very handsome coins, and the first large silver that was coined after the death of Edward VI. There are also shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies, of this coinage. It was in 1601 that silver coin was again reduced in weight, and, as Folkes tells us, the same standard of value was then adopted which has been ever since retained.

On some of the coins of Elizabeth the arms of Zealand are found stamped; others have "H" for Holland: both which are supposed to have been so marked for subsidies to be taken to the Low Countries by Leicester.

The East India merchants were also allowed to coin what have been called crowns, half-crowns, and shillings, for circulation in their foreign dealings, but which were, in fact, struck to accord with the weight of the Spanish piastre; the half, the quarter, and the half-quarter of the same. These coins have been called the "portcullis money," from a large portcullis occupying the whole of the reverse. They are handsome pieces, which have the portcullis, the arms of Westminster, for principal type.

Specimen No. 7, Plate 7, is one of the first, or hammered shillings, having the profile young-looking, and crowned, with "Elizab. D. G. Ang. Fr. et Hib. Regi," and on the reverse the arms traversed by the cross, with the old motto, "Posui," etc.; the oval shield of Edward VI., without the cross, not appearing on any of the coins of this reign.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 7, is one of the three-farthing pieces, with the rose behind the head, and "E. D. G. rosa sine spina;" the reverse, with the arms like her other coins, has also the date (for the first time on small pieces), and "Civitas London." The threepence has the same types, etc., but the sixpence has the queen's titles in full.

Specimen No. 10, Plate 7, is a halfpenny.

Specimen No. 11, Plate 7, is one of the *milled* sixpences, with the broad cross.

Specimen No. 12, Plate 7, is a five-shilling piece.

It will appear extraordinary that, notwithstanding the restoration of the English coinage, base money was still coined for Ireland, as though unfairness and oppression towards that unfortunate country, had ever formed part of a positive system with the English government.

The gold coins of this reign do not vary much from those of Mary. There was the double rial with the queen on the throne, and the rose reverse, with the arms in the centre. The rial with the queen in the ship, and the reverse still like the old noble.

There were two standards of gold: one called the old standard, 23½ carats fine to half a carat alloy, one pound weight of which was to be coined into 24 sovereigns of 30s. (equal to 36 of 20s.) Another standard of 22 carats

fine to 2 carats of alloy (crown gold), of which the pound weight was to be coined into only 33 sovereigns of 20s. Afterwards, about 10s. more was made from the pound of each standard.

Specimen No. 13, Plate 7, is the rial, with the device of the old nobles—the ship, etc.; the reverse being that of Edward IV., with the sun superseding the cross in the centre. It was the handsomest coin of this type that had appeared.

The angels, half-angels, and quarter-angels, were similar to those of Mary and her predecessors, but rather better executed than those of Mary. The only new artistic feature of the gold coinage of this reign being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, quarter-sovereigns, and half-quarter sovereigns, of a new type.

Our specimen, No. 14, Plate 7, is a half-sovereign of the new type. The profile of the queen crowned, with “Elizabeth, D. G. F. Angra. et Hib. Regina;” the reverse having the royal arms surmounted with a crown, which has the arch indented in the centre, like the modern crown, with “E. R.” on either side, and the motto, “Scutum fidei proteget eam.” There are several varieties of this type, some having the line and beading within the legend, others with different forms of the crown, and some having an ermined robe. No. 15, is a quarter-sovereign of the same type.

Specimen No. 16, Plate 7, is a half-crown, or half-quarter sovereign, of precisely the same pattern as the half-sovereign. (No. 14, Plate 7.)

During this reign there was coined, of silver, including the base silver of Ireland, £4,718,579, 2s. 8½d.; of gold, £440,552, 8s. 9½d.

The first money coined in Ireland in this reign was that shameful re-coinage in Dublin of the base metal then current in England, only three ounces fine in the pound troy. This base issue has the same types, with the exception of the portrait, name, and crowned initials, as the shilling of Mary.

Between 1598 and 1601, another Irish coinage took place, equally base, consisting of shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The type of the reverse of these coins was varied by having three harps upon a shield instead of the single crowned harp; on either side of which is the date, instead of the crowned initials. There was also another issue of shillings, sixpences, and threepences, the types of which were the arms of England on the obverse, and the Irish harp, crowned, on the reverse, with no initials or date.

Copper pence and halfpence, the first struck by a British sovereign, were issued in Ireland in this reign (1601); and farthings are also mentioned in the record, but none have ever been discovered.

The copper money differs only from the silver last described in having the initials “E. R.” on each side of the shield on the obverse, and the dates 16-10 and 16-02, on either side of the harp.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND PREVIOUS TO THE UNION.

BEFORE describing the coinage of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, it will be necessary to take a hasty review of the origin and progress of the Scottish coinage, after which the Scottish coins will be described in each reign, till the abolition of the Scottish mints.

The earliest coins attributed to Scotland, previous to the appearance of Mr. Lyndsay's work, were those of William the Lion, 1165; and even these were by many considered doubtful, and as probably belonging to William the Conqueror. It is probable, however, that a regular coinage was known in Scotland at least two centuries earlier; for the southern portion of what is now termed Scotland was included in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, and the Northumbrian coin circulated there, while a great portion of the North was possessed by the kings of Norway, who coined money certainly in the tenth century. It is not, therefore, that coins were unknown to the people of Scotland till the twelfth century, but that they did not assume a distinctive and national character before that period.

A few coins have been recently attributed to princes of the Hebrides, which, however, are not of earlier date than the eleventh century; of these the coin, No. 13, Plate 19, appears to have been coined by a prince bearing the name of *Somerled*, whose name, blundered and badly executed, is followed by the letters RO-Æ: RO the word expressing king on northern coins, and Æ, which is probably an abbreviation of ÆBRYDÆ, "of the Hebrides." *Somerled* is a name only found in connection with the Æbridæ, or Hebrides, and this coin has, therefore, with good show of probability, been attributed to that region.

No. 2, Plate 19, is however the first coin attributed to a native Scotch monarch: it is assigned to Malcolm III., a contemporary of William the Conqueror, and was first published by Mr. Lyndsay in his valuable work. Coins have been recently attributed also to Donald VIII. (1093), and the long disputed ones of Alexander I. (1107) finally adjusted—some of them being securely attributed to that prince.

Coins attributed to Malcolm IV. are doubtful. Those issued by William I., surnamed "The Lion," are, however, undoubted, and are very numerous. These coins bear the names of various moneyers and places of mintage, after the











manner of the English coinage of the period; those of the Berwick, Edinburgh, and Perth mints being most common. No. 2, Plate 19, is a silver penny of this monarch.

The coins of Alexander II. and III. are very difficult to distinguish, and, like those of William I., are very rude in execution, and much inferior to the English coinage of the period. Those of John Baliol, however, and Robert Bruce, which are at once recognisable, are in some respects superior to the English contemporary coinage, inasmuch as the head, which is a profile, appears to be an attempt at a real portrait, and not the unmeaning conventional face which, from Edward I. to Henry VII., is found on the coinage of England. No. 4, Plate 19, is a silver penny of Robert Bruce.

The groats with "Robertus Rex" are all now assigned to Robert II. The coins of this prince and David II. resemble those of Robert Bruce in the treatment of the head.

David II. The first gold coinage of Scotland took place in the reign of David II. (1371), when fine gold pieces were issued, evidently in imitation of the nobles of Edward III., from which they differ in no respect except in the substitution of the arms of Scotland for those of England on the shield, and of the name and titles of the Scottish king in the legend. In the reign of Robert II. coins of gold were issued of a national character, having the arms of Scotland on the obverse, and St. Andrew on his cross on the reverse, from which this coin received its popular name, "St. Andrew." (See No. 1, Plate 8.) This piece probably passed for five shillings. It was, in the Acts, called a "gold penny," the half being called a "maille." The smaller piece, having only the cross, and not the figure of St. Andrew, on the reverse, was, however, popularly called "the lion," from the lion on the shield of the obverse, to distinguish it from the St. Andrew.

Robert III. (1390). The heads on the coinage of Robert III. lose altogether the originality of character of those of the previous reigns, and are evidently close copies of the unmeaning head of the English money; while on the reverses the three stars in the angles of the cross are also abandoned for the three pellets of the coinage of England. (No. 5, Plate 19.)

Robert III., James I., and James II. (from 1390 to 1460), issued similar gold coins to those of Robert II. No. 2, Plate 8, is one of the lozenge lions of James II. There were also St. Andrews and half St. Andrews of each of these reigns.

In the reign of James III. the demi or lozenge lions of gold of James I. and II. were ordered to pass for twelve shillings each, and other lions for ten shillings each, showing the great increase in the value of the old gold coin. The first were afterwards raised to thirteen shillings and fourpence each.

The silver coins of James I., II., and III., were, like those of the previous reign, very closely copied from the English, with the exception, that two of the angles of the cross are filled by a crown, a fleur-de-lis, or a single star;

the English pellets remaining in the opposite angles. Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 19, are coins of these reigns.

The close resemblance of the Scottish to the English coinage in these reigns attracted the attention of the English parliament, more especially as the Scottish coins were issued of rapidly-decreasing weight in each successive reign. In that of Robert II. the coins of the same denomination were already a quarter lighter than the English, and in the reign of James II., it was enacted in Scotland that the English groat should pass for eightpence Scotch.

**BILLON COINS OF SCOTLAND.**—It was about this period that the first *billon* coins were issued, which are attributed to Robert III. The specimen engraved, is that described by Lyndsay; it has the usual full face of the period, and the king's name on the reverse, the cross and pellets like those of the English coinage, and the legend *VILLA INNERNIS*, being the only coin struck at Inverness yet discovered. (See Plate 19, No. 6). These base coins were pennies, and afterwards, when still baser were coined, were termed "white pennies," to distinguish them from the baser coin, which became known as the "black penny:" even the first went afterwards at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  for a silver penny. The groats and half-groats, which were coined in *billon* of different degrees of baseness, were known as placks and half-placks, a name derived from the *plaques* of the Continent. These last-named pieces were issued in the reign of James III. No. 9, Plate 19, is a plack of James III.

In the reign of James IV. (1488 to 1514) the types of the coinage were considerably modified; a three-quarter face, evidently a portrait, superseded the unmeaning head of the previous reigns, just at the same time that a similar improvement was taking place on the coinage of his contemporary, Henry VII. of England.

No. 10, Plate 19, is a groat of this prince, in whose reign a groat of equal weight with the English was ordered to pass for fourteen pennies Scotch, so greatly had the Scottish penny been debased, principally by the systematic and successive issues of billon money.

Scottish gold of the unicorn type, which appears on coins of two or three sizes, has been assigned to James III.; but I have selected as an illustration, one attributed to James IV. It is not certain what value the unicorns represented. (See Plate 8, No. 3.) A gold coin with a new type, the king armed on a galloping horse (See Plate 8, No. 4), was also issued by James IV., of two or three sizes (called riders), corresponding with the unicorn series.

In the reign of James V. (1514 to 1542), the groat of ten pennyweights two grains fine, eleven to the ounce, was ordered to pass for 18 pennies Scotch. No. 14, Plate 8, is a groat of this reign, on which the arms are, for the first time, placed on the silver coinage. No. 11, Plate 19, is a half-plack of the billon money of James V.

In this reign unicorns from the old dies were issued, and also new gold coins which have the numeral "V" after his name, which renders their attri-

bution certain. In the reign of James V. *crowns* of gold were also issued to pass for twenty shillings—and likewise gold pennies of several kinds; but the finest coin of his reign is the gold “Bonnet piece,” so called from the cap, or beret, termed in Scotland a *bonnet*, which the king wears in his portrait on this coin, probably executed by an Italian artist. (See No. 5, Plate 8.) There were two-thirds and one-thirds of this piece issued at the same time.

Mary (1542 to 1587). Of the first silver coinage of Mary, there are pieces with the queen’s head, crowned (No. 16, Plate 8), and on the reverse the arms, with “Da Pacem Domine, A.D. 1553.” This piece was a testoon, and probably passed for three shillings Scotch. There is also a half-testoon of the same date, having the head without a crown, as on the gold. (Plate 8, No. 6). The next type of the testoon of Mary has an “M,” crowned, between two crowned thistles, instead of the arms of Scotland, on the reverse. The testoons, during her marriage with Francis II. of France, have, while he was dauphin, the arms of the dauphin and those of Scotland, on a cross potent, and on the reverse the initials “F.” and “M.” crowned; and after he became king, the arms of France and Scotland on the same shield, as in the specimen No. 17, Plate 8. Similar coins, after the death of Francis, have the arms of France half effaced by those of Scotland on the reverse, and the portrait of the queen on the obverse, wearing a high dress frilled to the chin, and a cap similar to that still worn to denote widowhood. (See Plate 15, No. 19.)

During her union with Darnley the fine large silver royal was struck (No. 18, Plate 8), and there was also the twenty and ten shilling piece of this coinage, of the same type. After the death of Darnley the same coins were issued with the same types, with only the omission of the word “Henry” from the legend of the obverse.

There are several varieties of placks in the billon money of this reign. The pennies have the queen’s head, in the style of the fifteenth century, with the open crown. (See Plate 19, No. 6.) There was also the “hard-head” or lion of billon, called the “Non Sunt;” it was a coin of about the size of the plack, struck during her marriage with Francis, and having on the reverse the legend “Non Sunt Duo Sed Una Caro.” (Plate 19, No. 14.)

The *bawbees* of Mary, as they were styled in the following reign, have the arms of Scotland and France, crowned, on the obverse. (See No. 8, Plate 19.) The billon placks and hard-heads of this reign were subsequently ordered to pass, respectively for two pence and one penny each.

The gold coins issued in the reign of Mary, though not numerous, were of a great variety of type. They had generally the arms on the obverse, and “Maria Regina,” in a crowned monogram or cypher, on the reverse. (See No. 7, Plate 8.) The royal was one of the best-wrought coins of this reign, having a well-executed portrait of the queen on the obverse. (See No. 6, Plate 8.) During her marriage with Francis II., no gold was struck; but previous to

her second marriage the gold crown was issued, having the arms of France half effaced by those of Scotland on the obverse, and four crowned M's, arranged as a cross, etc., on the reverse. No gold was issued during her union with Darnley.

James VI. (1587 to 1625). The first silver coins of James VI. were issued by the authority of the Lord Regent. They were thirty, twenty, and ten shilling pieces, as before, with the arms of Scotland on one side, and a crown on the point of a sword, on the other, etc.

Various other moneys of silver were coined, among which was the two-mark piece. (No. 19, Plate 8.) Up to this time the arms of Scotland, crowned, etc., formed the type of the obverse of the silver coinage of this reign, but in 1582, forty, thirty, twenty, and ten shilling pieces were issued, having the king's portrait on the obverse. (See No. 13, Plate 8, which is a twenty-shilling piece of this coinage.) This series of money had the arms of Scotland, crowned, on the reverse. The balance-mark, and half-mark, of silver, were next coined, and so named from the scales on the reverse. (See No. 10, Plate 8.)

In the beginning of the reign of James similar coins of billon, to those of Mary, were struck, consisting of groats, placks, etc. etc., of different degrees of baseness, but by various acts made to pass for arbitrary values, all greatly above their intrinsic worth. The last billon coin that was issued was of a new kind, twenty being coined to the ounce, and to pass for fourpence each. It has also a new device. (See No. 17, Plate 19.)

By an act, dated May 13, 1597, it was determined that, in consequence of the scarcity of small coin, there be struck one hundred stone weight of pure copper unmixed with any other kind of metal. This was the beginning of a true copper coinage. It was to consist of penny, and twopenny pieces, each penny piece weighing one pennyweight twelve grains, and twopenny pieces weighing three pennyweights; and there were smaller coins with the king's head and title on the obverse, and the three thistles on the reverse, with *OPPIDVM EDINBURGI*. This copper coinage was rated at considerably above its intrinsic value, it was enacted as an antidote to the fraud, that none of his majesty's subjects should be obliged to receive in payment more than twelve such pennies in the pound, and so on *pro rata*. These coins became eventually known as the boddle and the half-boddle.

Before his accession to the English throne, two sets of the thistle-marks (so named from the thistle on the reverse), and half-marks, and pieces of one-fourth, one-eighth, and one-sixth, were also coined; one series having the king's head, without crown, on the obverse, and the other series having simply the arms of Scotland, with the name, titles, etc. (Plate 8, No. 19.)

Of the very numerous gold coinages of James VI. previous to his accession to the English throne, it would be impossible to give a detailed account in this work. His "*Lion*" (No. 9, Plate 8), and his half-piece (No. 8, Plate 8), being

the only specimens of his gold coinage as king of Scotland that I shall notice, with the exception of the fine piece of twenty pounds Scotch (Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 8), which is one of the finest coins in either the English or Scottish series. Some, however, have considered it only a pattern. All the gold coins struck for Scotland by James VI., after his accession to the English throne, are scarce.

The *sceptre*, Scotch, is a fine large coin of the size of an English double sovereign, but of the same types as No. 6, Plate 9, the disposition of the arms excepted. The crown, half-crown, etc., only differed from the English in the same details. In this reign the Scottish coins were declared current in England, as one to twelve, and the English in Scotland in the same proportion—that is, the rose royal, thirty shillings English, was to pass for eighteen pounds Scotch; the angel of ten shillings for six pounds Scotch, etc.

From henceforward the Scottish coins are classed with the English series, from which they differ but very little, except in the disposition of the arms, and the marks of the Edinburgh mint. The Scotch arms occupy the first and fourth positions in the quarterings, on the Scottish coinage, and those of England and Ireland, the second and third—while on the English coinage, the Scottish arms occupy the third quarter only. Shillings and sixpences, and crowns and half-crowns, were coined in Scotland, with only these differences from the English coin; the small pieces differing in a similar manner. The Anglo-Scottish coins will in future be noticed at the end of each successive reign.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

JAMES I. (1602 to 1625). The first silver coins issued by this king, soon after his accession, were crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, pieces of two pennies, pennies, and halfpennies.

On the crowns and half-crowns is a figure of the king on horseback, in a similar style to those of Edward VI.; the titles read, "*Jacobus D. G. Ang. Sco. Fran. et Hib. Rex.*"

On the reverse are the arms, on a garnished shield, but in the usual form (and not oval, like those of Edward and Mary), having the motto, "*Exurgat Deus dissipentur inimici.*" The arms of Scotland, and also of Ireland, were for the first time quartered with those of England and France. The Irish arms now adopted bear the more recent monetary type, the harp, and not the old Irish arms, the three crowns.

The shillings and sixpences had the king's bust in profile, crowned, in armour, the legend as on the crowns, and having respectively "*XII.*" and "*VI.*" behind the head to denote the value. The twopenny-pieces and pennies were the same, with the exception that they had the motto, "*Rosa sine spina,*" and the numerals "*II.*" and "*I.*" respectively; the reverse having the arms without motto. The halfpennies were like those of Elizabeth, with a cross on one side, and a portcullis on the other. Shillings and sixpences, 9 ounces fine, were now coined for Ireland.

Before the issue of the second coinage, the term "*Great Britain,*" for the United Kingdom, was adopted, "*Mag. Brit.*" instead of "*Ang. Sco.*" being used on that coinage, and on the reverses a new and appropriate motto, allusive to the union of the crowns, was used—"Que Deus conjunxit nemo separet." The shillings were the same as the half-crowns and crowns, with the exception of having the king's bust only, instead of the figure on horseback. The twopenny pieces had a rose on one side, and a thistle on the other, crowned, with "*I. D. G. rosa sine spina,*" and "*Tueatur unita Deus.*" The pennies had the rose and thistle without the crown, with the same legends; and the halfpennies the simple rose and thistle without mottos. These several pieces now continued to be minted without alteration till the end of the reign. There are no dates on the coins of this reign, except on sixpences,

a caprice in their favour difficult to explain; but the succession of mint-marks is so complete, that every issue is easily distinguished by collectors. Up to June 20, 1605, the fleur-de-lis is the mint-mark; up to July 10, 1606, another mark; till June 30, 1607, the escallop shell; and so on, through almost every remaining year of the reign a different mark, such as the bunch of grapes, the tower, the tun, the half-moon, etc.

Silver was exceedingly scarce during a part of the reign, and the issue of a light coinage was seriously contemplated, but the scheme was happily abandoned. A good deal of silver was refined from the lead mines of Wales,—the coins made from this silver always bearing the Welsh feathers, to denote the origin of the metal.

On the suggestions of James, many good regulations were made to prevent clipping and other modes of debasing the coinage, and the charges of mintage were reduced, in order to tempt merchants and others to bring bullion more readily to be coined.

Specimen 1, Plate 9, is one of the half-crowns of the first coinage.

Specimen 2, Plate 9, is a shilling with the new motto, "*Que Deus*," etc., on the reverse, with the feathers above the crown, being one of those coined from the Welsh silver.

No. 3, Plate 9, exhibits both sides of a twopenny piece; No. 4, Plate 9, the rose side of a penny; and No. 5, both sides of a halfpenny.

The first gold coins of James I. were the sovereigns and half-sovereigns having the king in armour holding the orb and sceptre. The reverse was the arms of England and France, with Scotland and Ireland quartered, and the motto, "*Exurgat*," etc. etc. After the coining of the units—coins of similar value—these pieces were sometimes called "*sceptre units*;" the late sovereigns of the above type had the more appropriate motto, "*Faciam eos in gentem unam*." The double-crown of ten shillings is like the half-sovereign, but has on the reverse, "*Henricus rosas Regna Jacobus*." The British crown of five shillings was similar. The thistle-crown of four shillings has the rose of England on one side, and the thistle of Scotland on the other, both crowned, the titles round the rose, with "*Tueatur unita Deus*" round the thistle. There was also a two-shilling-and-sixpenny piece, with the king's head, and "*J. D. G. rosa spina*," and on the reverse the arms, and the same motto as the last; also a crown and half-crown similar, but with "*Tueatur*," etc.

The pieces coined in Scotland only differed in the arms of Scotland occupying the first place. In the pieces without arms there was no distinction, except the mint-mark. In small silver pieces the thistle appears without the rose.

The pound weight of gold,  $23\frac{1}{2}$  carats fine, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  carat alloy, was next coined into 27 rose rials at thirty shillings each, or 54 spur rials at fifteen shillings each; or it was made into 81 angels at ten shillings each. The spur rial has the king standing between the fore and mizen-masts of a ship, in



armour, crowned, and holding a sword, and on his left arm a large shield, with the arms, etc. etc.; the reverse is the device of the old noble of Edward III., with the exception of the blazing sun being substituted for part of the cross, and which now passed as a *spur* royal, from the resemblance of the rays to the rowels of a spur.

The rose rial of thirty shillings was similar to those of the preceding reigns, except that the king appears in the regular parliamentary robes. The motto on the reverse of the rose rial, and spur rial, is "A. Dno. factum est istud et est mirabile," etc. The Angels of this issue were very nearly of the old device. English gold coins being above the standard of those of the Continent, their value was raised by proclamation,—“the sovereign, from twenty to twenty-two shillings; the double-crown, from ten to eleven shillings,” and so on in proportion. At the same time regulations were made as to the rates at which foreign gold and silver, in coin and in the ingot, should be purchased. It was next arranged that the pound weight of gold of the old standard of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  carats fine, should be coined into £44.

It being found that the irregular sums at which the gold coins were rated were extremely convenient, a new gold coinage was determined on. These coins were to be of the highest standard, now termed angel gold. First, a thirty-shilling piece, having the king in his parliament robes (still called a rial), the figure finely executed in a new style, but the mottos the same; and, on the reverse, the type of the old *rose* rial being abandoned for the royal arms. Second, a fifteen-shilling piece of new device, having a lion holding a shield, with the numerals "XV.," and the titles; and on the reverse, the old device of the noble, with the sun of Edward IV., and the motto, "A Dno," etc. Third, a ten-shilling piece, or angel, with the old devices of the angel, and ship, greatly improved, and having the royal arms on the sail, and another pattern having the ship scooped out to receive a large shield with the arms. Of crown gold new units were made, having the king's head laureated in the Roman style—the first time it had been adopted on modern English coins, and for the reverse, the royal arms, crowned, and the mottos as on the first units. These pieces were soon called "laurels." There was a ten-shilling and a five-shilling of the same pattern. Standard, or angel gold, was now coined into £44, 10s., and crown gold into £41.

Specimen No. 6, Plate 9, is the obverse of the first, or sceptred unit, of twenty shillings.

Specimen No. 7, Plate 9, is the observe of the rial of thirty shillings, after the rose reverse was abandoned; with the figure of the king in the new style,—a very fine coin.

Specimen No. 8, Plate 9, is the thistle-crown of four shillings.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 9, is the laureated unit.

Specimens Nos. 10 and 11, Plate 9, are the obverse and reverse of the improved angel, with the arms on the sail.

The first gold coinage of James was of the same standard as those of the last of Elizabeth—namely, the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine and 2 alloy, to make thirty-three sovereigns and a half at twenty shillings each. Next, the pound weight of the same gold was coined into thirty-seven units at twenty shillings each, and a thistle-crown of four shillings, because the English gold coins had long been of more value than those of other nations, and had been exported for melting—from the true proportion of the relative values of gold and silver not having been properly understood in England.

The Irish coinage received some attention from James I., and in the first and second years of his reign a step was made towards restoring the intrinsic value and purity of that coinage. Shillings and sixpences, 9 ounces fine to 3 ounces alloy, were issued, the base money of the previous reign being ordered to go for one-third of its original value—the shilling for 4*d.*, etc. They were afterwards ordered to go for one-fourth—the shilling for 3*d.*, and other pieces in proportion. The first Irish shillings and sixpences of James have for type the portrait of the king in armour, in the style of the English shillings of this reign; and the reverse, the Irish harp, crowned; they were well executed. On the first issues the legend on the obverse is, JACOBUS D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET HIB. REX.; but on the later, after the words “Great Britain” had been substituted in all official documents for England and Scotland, MAG. BRIT., for “Magnæ Britanniae,” supersedes ANG. SCO., etc., on the Irish coinage as well as the English. The legend, HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS, is adopted on the reverses of the later pieces, instead of the EXURGAT DEUS, etc., of the earlier ones. In this reign, copper farthings were issued for Ireland as well as England, having for device, a sword and sceptre, crossed behind a crown, for obverse; and the crowned harp for reverse; the legend of the obverse being IACO P. G. MAG. BRI., and the reverse, FRA. ET. HIB. REX. (See No. 3, Plate 22.)

Charles I. (1625 to 1649). A coinage was soon issued in this reign of the same purity and weight as those of the last; namely, 7½ grains to the silver penny, which had been eight grains in the beginning of Elizabeth, but was reduced to the above weight late in her reign. It is remarkable that during the gradual waste of his resources in the civil wars, no debasement in the coinage took place; the very rudest of the coins of Charles, and even his siege pieces, being of the proper purity and weight.

The first silver coins of this reign were of the same value and denomination as those of James: crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, twopennies, pennies, and halfpennies. The four large pieces had “Carolus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fra. et Hib. Rex.” round a well-executed bust of the king, and the reverse the royal arms, as in the last reign, but with the motto, “Cristo, auspice, regno.” The pennies and halfpennies were like those of James, except that they had the rose on both sides, with “C. D. G. rosa sine spina”

on the obverse, and "Jus. Thronum firmat"\* on the reverse. These pennies, etc., were soon followed by others having the king's bust, and the numerals "II." and "I."; and on the reverse the oval shield, with "Justitia Thronum firmat" for legend. The oval shield, somewhat ornamented, was soon after adopted for the larger pieces also, with sometimes c. r. on either side. The shillings and sixpences represent the king in the dress of the day, and three changes of fashion may be traced in them. He is first seen in the stiff ruff, much like that of the reigns of Elizabeth and James; then in a limber or falling one; and, lastly, in a simple falling collar, edged with lace, as we see him in most of his portraits by Vandyke. On some of the pieces of his early coinages he appears in his parliamentary robes, but eventually both these styles disappeared, and he was constantly represented in armour, but with the falling lace collar. The crowns and half-crowns have the king pretty constantly on horseback, in armour; but the whole coinage of the reign is extremely irregular, both in design and execution, and an immense number of trifling variations occur—far too numerous to allude to in detail within the limits of this volume.

None of the pieces coined in the Tower were dated, but the mint-marks afford sure indications of the dates. To January, 1625, they are marked with the trefoil; to January, 1626, with the fleur-de-lis; and so on. This refers especially to the London coinage; but in this reign there were extensive coinages of silver in various parts of the kingdom, even before the troubles. The coins of the York mint are very beautifully executed, and have a lion passant guardant for mint-mark, also the word "Ebor." (York). It is supposed the York mint was established when Strafford was president of the north, and some money was probably coined when the king was at York, during his magnificent progress to Scotland. There was also established a permanent mint in his thirteenth year at Aberystwith, for refining and coining the silver produced from the Welsh lead mines. The coins of this mint may be known by the Welsh feathers. The coins of this reign milled at the edge were, produced by the mill and screw, under the direction of Nicholas Briot, who had been chief engraver of the French moneys. His coins may be known by the letter "B" upon them; but their chief merit consists in the neatness of their mechanical execution, the engraving of other artists of the time being more spirited. M. Le Blanc, author of the "*Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*," says, speaking of Briot's residence in England, "On ne manqua pas se servir de ses machines, et de faire par son moyen les plus belles monnoyes du monde." He also coined money for Charles I. in Scotland, and afterwards returned to France, where certain regulations were altered which had caused him to leave that country in disgust. His return probably prevented the permanent establishment of the mill and screw in England at that time.

\* Justitia thronum firmat (Justice strengthens a throne).

During his stay he prepared many patterns, which never came into circulation, and these are much prized in cabinets, from their rarity.

In the year 1642, when the king was at Nottingham, just about the breaking out of the civil war, he received as a loan from the universities nearly all their plate, which was to be repaid at so much per oz. for the white silver, and so much extra for the gilt silver. Some of this was paid out in its original form, to be sold for the pay of the troops; and so much of it as was coined, says Mr. Folkes, was minted probably at York. The king soon after removed to Shrewsbury, where the master of the Welsh mint, Mr. Bushell, was ordered to join the king, and money was coined there, but with what particular mark is unknown—probably the Welsh feathers. Little, however, was done; for Clarendon says, “It was indeed more for reputation than use, as, in the absence of sufficient workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a-week.”

After the defeat of Edgehill, the king removed the mint of Aberystwith to Oxford, to coin there, in the New Inn Hall, under the direction of Mr. Bushell and Sir William Parkhurst, all the remaining plate of the colleges. In this mint there appears to have been coined a large quantity of money, both of gold and silver; and as it was still considered the Welsh mint, although removed, the Welsh mark of the feathers was continued. The money now struck at Oxford did not differ materially in design from that previously coined; there are, however, several varieties of types; the execution of the dies being of various degrees of excellence, some of very mean workmanship, and others very excellent.

The silver twenty-shilling and ten-shilling pieces are peculiar to this mint, and to this period, for no other such pieces occur in the annals of the English coinage. The best executed of these twenty shilling-pieces is a very noble coin, having the king on horseback, crowned, and in armour, the horse trampling upon arms and trophies, surrounded by the usual titles; the reverse has the motto, “Exurgat Deus,” etc., with “Relig. prot. leg. Ang. liber. par.,” dated 1644; alluding to his declaration at the breaking out of the war, that he would protect “*the protestant religion, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and the privileges of parliament.*” There is also a very beautiful crown of this mint, with a view of the city, seen beneath the horse, and the word “Oxon” above it. The smaller pieces had the king’s head as previously, but the reverses were like those of the great twenty-shilling piece described above. Some of the half-shillings and groats have an open book as mint-mark.

This coining down of the plate of the colleges caused the barbarous destruction of many rare and interesting relics of the highest antiquity; but such are the inevitable consequences of civil war; for in 1644 the Commons House of Parliament, with equal recklessness, ordered all the king’s plate in the Tower to be melted down and coined, notwithstanding a remonstrance

from the Lords, alleging that the curious workmanship of the ancient pieces was worth more than the metal.

On many occasions during the most disastrous fortunes of the king in the latter part of the civil war, his partizans were under the necessity of striking money in a rude manner, by coining down their own plate, for the relief of their men. By which course, as many magnificent family monuments perished, as national ones had done by the sacrifices at Oxford and at the Tower. The first examples of this sort of money were coined at Dublin; they were merely weighed pieces of plate, simply stamped with numerals, to denote their current value,—some having on the obverse “C. R.” under a crown. (See Plate 10, No. 14.)

In 1645, when Carlisle was defended by Sir Thomas Glemham for the king, he coined down plate into shillings, etc., with the king’s head very rudely done; and the shillings of Newark are lozenge-shaped. (Plate 10, No. 11.)

Some of these siege pieces are stamped with a castle, and numerals to denote the value; for instance, those struck during the siege of the castle of Scarborough. (Nos. 8, 9, and 10, Plate 20.) Others have such mottos as “Carolus fortuna resurgam.” (See No. 13, Plate 20.) Nos. 9 and 10 are said to be of Colchester.

During the defence of Pontefract Castle, the coin stamped there had the motto, “Dum spiro spero.” No. 18, Plate 9, is another piece of Pontefract. This place was still defended by Colonel John Morris seven weeks after the execution of the king; and after that event this staunch royalist struck the coins he issued in the name of Charles II. The shillings so struck were of an octagonal shape, with “Carlos Secundus, 1648,” round the figure of the castle, and the reverse had “Post mortem patris pro filio.” (Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 10.) No. 10, Plate 10, was struck at Carlisle.

Of these irregular coins, or siege pieces, there is a great variety, both of gold and silver. Some have doubted the authenticity of this money, on account of the silence of contemporary documents; but of the pieces of Pontefract, Sir H. Ellis has recently discovered the contemporary notice required. It is contained in a newspaper of the time,—“The Kingdom’s faithful and Impartiall Scout,” February 5th, 1648: in which some of the square Pontefract shillings, found on a royalist prisoner by the republicans, are described as being stamped on one side with a castle, and the letters “P. O.,” and on the other with a crown, having “C. R.” on each side of it: a perfectly correct description, with the exception of mistaking the C for O, which does, in fact, in some specimens appear nearly round. Other siege pieces of Charles are engraved in Plate 20, and at the end of this reign will be found an account of similar siege pieces, struck in other countries.

In this reign were coined also pieces for circulation in New England, by Lord Baltimore, who was privileged to strike money there; and the pieces with

his own portrait were issued during the Commonwealth, or in the reign of Charles II.

No. 12, Plate 9, is one of the early half-crowns of this reign, showing the horse clothed in rich heavy housings, similar to that shown on the crowns of Edward IV. and James I., which were afterwards abandoned for a merely decorative saddle-cloth on the later coins of Charles. The motto has the king's titles as previously stated; the reverse has the old shield, etc., with the motto, "Christo auspice regno."

No. 13, Plate 9, is one of the early shillings. No. 5, Plate 10, is the reverse of a sixpence after the adoption of the oval shield. No. 6, Plate 10, is a reverse of a half-crown, dated 1645, the arms enclosed in the garter, and supported by the lion and unicorn, and has doubtless formed the model of some of our recent half-crowns.

No. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Plate 10, is a ~~twopenny~~ twopenny piece of this coinage, having the bust and oval shield, the motto of the reverse being "Christo auspice regno."

No. 4, Plate 9, is the obverse of a rose halfpenny of the Welsh mint. It has the feathers for the reverse.

The early twopenny pieces had the crowned roses previously mentioned.

No. 16, Plate 9, is an Oxford twenty-shilling silver piece, showing the horse without the housings in which he is clothed on the earlier pieces; No. 17, the Oxford crown, with a view of the city; No. 4, Plate 9, the Oxford shilling, showing the king in armour, and mottos, as previously described; No. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Plate 9, an Oxford penny; No. 11, Plate 9, a siege piece of Newark, having "Obs. Newark, 1646," on the reverse, partly covered by a countermark, the royal arms; No. 18, Plate 10, a siege piece of Pontefract, with the castle, and obs. p. c., 1648; and on the reverse, "Dum spiro spero."

The first Scottish coinage of silver in this reign, consisted of crowns and half-crowns, which so closely resemble those of his father, except in the name in the legend, that they do not require description. But the pieces coined by the celebrated Briot, whom he took into Scotland for that purpose, which are much more minutely finished in execution, must not be passed without notice; they consist of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. A second series, also by Briot, was issued near the same time, and exhibits little difference in the types, except that the portrait extends quite to the lower edge of the coin.

There were also issued some coins of more especially Scottish character; these were the small silver pieces, of about the size of an English silver penny, but of the value of twenty-pence Scotch, having the king's head and "XX." on the obverse, and the crowned thistle on the reverse.

The two-shilling piece, Scotch, was of about the size of the twenty-penny piece; but had the arms of Scotland, crowned, for reverse, instead of the thistle. The noble, or half-mark, had the head and title as usual on the obverse, and the arms of Scotland, legend, etc., on the reverse, with  $\frac{v}{8}$  to

denote the value, 6s. 8d., Scottish money. The piece is about the size of the English sixpence, and was, as well as all these coins, the work of Briot.

It was ordered, in this reign, that the name "Irish money," should be abolished, and that hereafter all accounts should be kept in sterling or English money.

No silver money was issued in regular form, for Ireland, by Charles I., but when the troubles commenced, an irregular coinage was struck in Dublin, known as the "Inchinguin money," made from the plate subscribed and sent in deference to the royal proclamation, encouraging loyal subjects to send in their plate to be coined in aid of the government. This was hastily coined into crowns, half-crowns, ninepences, sixpences, and groats, with no type or legend but the weight, as previously described. (See Plate 1, No. 14).

In the beginning of this reign, copper farthings were issued for Ireland, in virtue of the patent granted to the Duchess Dowager of Richmond. The types are the same as those of James I. A farthing, issued in virtue of the patent granted to Henry Lord Malvavers and Sir F. Crane, differed in having a rose instead of the harp on the reverse.

The gold coinage of this reign is not various. The fine old sovereigns, or rials, with the king enthroned, as also the nobles, were finally abandoned after the beginning of the reign; but a small coinage of angels was issued, similar to those of James I., with the arms on the sail.

The principal coins in the early part of the reign were—the unit, or broad piece (twenty shillings), with its half and quarter; first with the old garnished shield, and subsequently with the oval shield; some having on the reverse the motto, "Florent Concordia Regna;" others, "Cultores sui Deus protegit;" the largest of these pieces had "XX." behind the head, the next "X.," and the smallest "V.," to indicate their respective values.

The gold pieces struck at Oxford were three pounds, pounds, and ten-shilling pieces, having a head of the king very meanly executed, holding the olive branch as well as the sword; and having on the reverse the motto, "Exurgat," etc., and "Relig. pro.," etc., from which the pattern is called the "exurgat money."

The large piece of three pounds had the numerals "III." on the reverse, the lesser pieces "XX." and "X." respectively, behind the head. The ten-shilling pieces are without the olive branch and sword of the larger ones. Space will not allow me to give specimens of the largest Oxford piece with the olive branch, which is, as stated, very poor in execution; but No. 3, Plate 10, is a reverse of one of the twenty-shilling pieces.

No. 1, Plate 10, is the first gold unit with the oval shield.

No. 19, Plate 9, is a quarter unit with the oval shield; and No. 2, Plate 10, a quarter unit with the old shield.

The first Scottish gold coins of this reign were the fine "*sceptres*," similar in types and style to those of his father—being unlike any of his English gold

—and in fact a finer gold coin than any he ever issued in England. This remark applies especially to those of the second issue, executed by Briot, which have the motto, *HIS. PRÆSUM VT PROSIM* on the reverse. This “sceptre” was coined as a £12 piece, Scotch, but probably passed, on account of its weight, at £13, 13*s*. There was an issue in Scotland of gold crowns, half-crowns, etc., very similar to those of his father, but inferior to the series executed by Briot.

The copper coinage was continued in Scotland—twopenny pieces becoming known as “Turners,” from their analogy with the *gros Tournois* of the Continent; and it was enacted that they should, in consequence of their lightness—not being above half the weight of those struck by James previous to his accession to the English throne—only pass for one penny. An act was afterwards proposed, but rejected, which would have reduced them to one halfpenny. They were not, in reality, worth above one farthing, English; the Scottish penny having, in fact, become a distinct coin from that of England.

An example of the two-penny piece of Charles I. is engraved in Plate 19, No. 18.

New proclamations were issued in this reign against private farthing tokens of copper or lead, circulating in England; but no good remedy was applied to the inconvenience which called them into existence, though the privilege of making authorised farthings was granted to the Duchess of Richmond and others, for seventeen years: the farthings made under these patents being below their intrinsic value, and causing endless discontent and disturbance. A pattern for a farthing of full size was made by Briot, but not issued. (See Plate 22, No. 5.)



## CHAPTER X.

## COINS OF CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

## FURTHER SPECIMENS OF THE SIEGE PIECES, ETC., OF CHARLES I.

SOME of the irregular money of Charles I., generally classed with his obsessional, or siege money, may be more correctly termed, "money of necessity," like that struck in Ireland from the silver and gold plate hastily sent in from private sources for his service. This kind of money may be easily distinguished from that more correctly termed "siege money," by the absence of the letters OBS., for OBSESSA (besieged), generally found on the true siege pieces.

The following series of specimens contain pieces of both classes:—

Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 10, are the obverse and reverse of silver pennies, probably struck in Ireland.

No. 9 is a sixpence struck at Cork in 1647.

No. 10 shows both the obverse and reverse of a three-shilling piece, struck during the siege of Carlisle in 1645, as indicated by the legend OBS. CARL.

Nos. 12 and 13 are a fourpenny, and a sixpenny piece, apparently of the same coinage.

No. 14 is one of the shillings hastily struck in the castle of Dublin, in January, 1642, by order of the lords of the council, having only the numerals denoting the weight, as 3 dw. 21 grs., and no other device or legend.

No. 3, Plate 20, is the obverse of a crown-piece, struck in the castle of Dublin, in 1642, after the king's consent had been obtained for that coinage, and consequently bearing the royal crown and initials.

No. 2, Plate 20, is a shilling marked "XII.," dated 1645, with OBS. CARL., showing that it was one of the pieces struck for the king, by Sir Thomas Glemham, at Carlisle.

No. 1, Plate 20, is a crown-piece, with "V.S." in a small circle, evidently very hastily struck, as there is no device whatever on the other side.

Nos. 3 and 4, Plate 20, are the obverse and reverse of a crown-piece: the cross on the reverse would apparently indicate that it was struck from silver furnished by the church; probably the Catholic church in Ireland.

No. 5, Plate 20, is one of the shillings struck for the king at Cork, in 1647.

Nos. 6 and 7, Plate 20, are the obverse and reverse of a shilling, struck during the siege of Newark, but not countermarked like the one previously described.









Nos. 9 and 10, Plate 20, are shillings rudely struck upon pieces of plate hastily cut into squares, and stamped with a coarse representation of a castle; but which of the castles held for Charles by his adherents, is here intended, is unknown.

No. 8, Plate 20, is a piece of plate stamped with "V. S.," to pass as five shillings, and also with a representation of a castle—thought to be Scarborough. The mouldings of the piece of plate, probably a large salver, remain at one side of this piece.

Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 20, are the obverse and reverse of a shilling struck at Pontefract, in the royal cause, after the death of the king. The legend being *POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO FILIO*. Previous pieces struck at this place had, as described, the motto *DVM SPIRO SPERO*.

No. 13, Plate 20, is a rude octagonal siege piece, generally attributed to Colchester. The motto—*CAROLI FORTUNA RESURGAM*—indicating that it was struck during some favourable turn in the affairs of the royal cause, towards the end of the civil war.

In order to give the student a more complete idea of the nature of "siege pieces," and other "money of necessity," I have here appended a brief account of some of the most remarkable continental examples of money of this description.

#### FOREIGN SIEGE PIECES.

No. 1, Plate 21, is a gold ducat struck by Charles Duke of Sudermania, in 1598, during the war with Sigismund III., King of Poland. It has for type a wheat-sheaf (the arms of Vasa), and the letters *c. d. s.*, for "*Carolus Dux Sudermaniæ*." The reverse has the name of Jehovah, in Hebrew characters, with a glory, and on the corners the numerals 1.5.8.9.; the date, 1598. Silver was struck at the same time, which had *c d s* under a coronet, and the letters *i. m.*, for one mark, on the obverse.

No 2, Plate 21, was struck in the war against John Frederick, the elector, by Duke Maurice of Saxony, chief of the Protestant League of Germany, in 1547, and an ancestor of the present royal family of England. The elector having laid siege to Leipsic, the duke was compelled to strike obsidional money to pay the troops during the siege, which was, however, raised on the arrival of the emperor. This is a gold piece, very neatly executed. On the obverse are the arms of Saxony, and *MORI-HER. z. s.*, for "*Moritzs Hertzog zu Sachsen*," "*Maurice Duke of Saxony*;" and on the reverse the arms of Leipsic, and *HER. HANS. FRID. BELEGERT LEIPZIG. MENSE. IAN. AN. MDXLVII*, for "*Hertzog Hans Friderick Belegert Leipzig, Mense Januarii Anno MDXLVII*," "*The Duke John Frederick, besieged Leipsic in the month of January 1547.*"

No. 9, Plate 21, is a copper piece struck by Gustavus I., of Sweden. After his escape from the fortress in which he was imprisoned by Christian II.,

King of Denmark, he succeeded in raising the Swedish spirit of independence, and was eventually declared king after driving Christian from the kingdom. The portrait of Gustavus, a half-figure in armour, occupies the obverse of this piece, and on the reverse G, the initial of his name, and three crowns, the arms of Sweden, and two arrows, the arms of Dalecarlia, where he first raised the standard of revolt. Some of these coins have the legend ERICSON, (after the Swedish manner, as Son of Eric). This inscription, by a blunder of the engraver, reads backwards.

No. 3, Plate 21, is a siege piece, struck during the well-known siege of Vienna by the Turks, in 1529. The Vaivode of Transylvania, son of Stephen Tapolski, became a pretender to the throne of Hungary, to the prejudice of the Archduke Ferdinand; and calling to his assistance the formidable Soliman II., a numerous Turkish army laid siege to Vienna. After a general assault had failed, the Duke of Bavaria, commander of the Austrian troops, determined to attack the enemy's camp, which he did so unexpectedly and so successfully, that forty thousand of the enemy are said to have been destroyed, and the siege was raised. The coin under description was struck during the siege, and has on the obverse the portrait of the Emperor Ferdinand, with the date 1529; and on the reverse, the arms of Austria. This piece is gold, but at the same time pieces, both of silver and lead, of similar character, were issued, few of them, however, having the bust of the emperor. No. 10 is a lead coin struck during this siege, with the inscription TVRK BELEGERT WIEN. "The Turks besieged Vienna."

No. 4, Plate 21, is a silver piece struck in the French fortress-town of Landau, during the siege of the place by the imperialists in 1702. During its blockade by Prince Louis of Baden, and the King of the Romans, between the 19th of June and the 9th of September, these well-known siege pieces were struck. Though Landau was strongly fortified by Vauban in 1681, the counterscarp was stormed on the nights of the 14th and 15th of August, and on the 9th of September, further advantages having been obtained, the governor and garrison, of three thousand men, were compelled to surrender. This irregular piece is stamped to pass for four livres and four sols, and bears the name of Landau, and the date, with the arms of the governor, the Count de Linange, under whose directions this siege money was struck.

No. 10, Plate 21, is a piece struck by Marshal Turrenne, from his own plate, when before St. Venant, on the frontiers of Flanders, which he retook from the Spaniards three days after opening the trenches. This is not an obsidional or siege piece, as it was struck by the besiegers and not the besieged; it is classed, therefore, under the head of "money of necessity." The inscription is fully descriptive of its origin and purport. It is also stamped with the fleur-de-lis of France.

No. 5, Plate 21, is a siege piece struck in the town of Osnaburg, besieged

by the Swedes, from June to September, 1633, under the command of Gustavus Gustavson. The Count of Warlemburg, bishop of Osnaburg, left the town in the beginning of the siege, leaving orders to coin all his plate into money to pay the garrison. The town surrendered to the Swedes on the 1st of September. The piece under description has, on the side engraved, a figure of St. Peter, wearing a triple crown, supporting the arms of Osnaburg, of Bavaria, and of the Palatinate. This piece weighs nearly an ounce.

No. 6, Plate 21. During the war of independence in the Low Countries, the Spaniards, commanded by the Marquis of Spinola, unexpectedly laid siege to the strong town of Breda, the garrison of which was commanded by Justin of Nassau, a natural son of the Prince of Orange. The place was defended with the greatest obstinacy, and the citizens, after giving up all their coin to pay the troops, afterwards gave their plate, to which was added, that of all the officers of the garrison. The place, however, not being relieved, was surrendered on the 5th of July in the same year—the garrison marching out with the honours of war. It is a copper piece made to pass for two sols, as indicated by the Roman numerals II. The small shield of arms are those of the town, and the legend is simply BREDA OBSSESSA. There are large silver pieces of forty sols, having the Belgian lion on the obverse, and some have the arms of Prince Maurice, as seigneur, or lord of Breda.

No. 7, Plate 21, is a siege piece struck by the citizens of Campen, in 1578, from their family plate, to pay the Spanish garrison, in order to preserve themselves and families from the insolence of the soldiery, who were eventually obliged to surrender the place to the Dutch general, Count Nunnenberg, after a long siege.

That the inhabitants were drained of their last resource by the wants of the hostile garrison they had to supply, is shown by the inscription on this piece: "Extremum subsidium Campense," "The last resource of Campen." The piece is silver, and the mark "x½ St." shows that it passed for ten styvers and a half.

No. 8, Plate 21. During the siege of Magdeburgh, in 1551, which was defended by the Protestant League against the Emperor Charles V., the inhabitants were compelled to coin all their silver plate for the purposes of the defence, which was conducted with the greatest bravery. On the night of the 15th of November they made a brilliant sortie, in which the enemy's cavalry was totally defeated, and George Duke of Mecklenburgh, one of the imperial commanders, taken prisoner. Nevertheless, being pressed by hunger and reduced to the last extremity, they were eventually compelled to surrender the place—upon apparently very hard terms—but with a secret clause that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. This siege piece, of which both sides are engraved, is of gold, and



has a figure of St. Maurice, the patron saint of the cathedral, on the obverse and reverse, and the letters S. M., for "Sanctus Mauritius."

No. 11, Plate 21, is a coin struck during the memorable siege of Pavia by Francis I. The French king having entered Italy with an army of 40,000 men, and taken Milan, laid siege to Pavia; which was defended by one of the most skilful of the imperialist generals, Antonio de Leva. The garrison having mutinied for want of pay, he converted his own plate into money for them, and when that resource was exhausted, he obtained the silver plate and ornaments of the church; but the German garrison having a third time demanded pay, De Leva caused his own private jewels of gold to be coined into money, and the present example was coined from that source. It bears the initial letters of Antonio Leva, A. L., and the date 1524. Some of the silver pieces have C.E.S. P.P. OB., for "Cessareis Papiæ obsessis," "The imperialists besieged in Pavia," with the date 1524. The famous battle of Pavia was fought under the walls, in which Francis himself was taken prisoner, and carried to Madrid.

#### THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Commonwealth (1648 to 1660), with the energetic Cromwell as its directing genius, proceeded at once to effect great changes in the coinage. The royal arms were thrown aside, and the simple cross of St. George, as the suitable badge of Puritanical England, was adopted. It was placed within a palm and an olive branch, and had for legend, in good plain English, "The Commonwealth of England." On the reverse were two joined shields, one bearing the cross of St. George, the other the harp of Ireland, and the motto, also in English, "God with us," and the date: that of the first being 1649. Sir Robert Harley, who had formerly been master of the mint for the late king, though he had accepted a re-appointment from the parliament, yet refused to carry into effect this innovation in the types of the coins; and Aaron Guerdain, doctor of physic, was appointed in his place, under whose direction the change was effected.

The issue consisted of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and half-shillings, and pieces of twopence, a penny, and a halfpenny. The larger pieces all bore the same devices, with the exception of being marked with Roman numerals to indicate their value. The smaller pieces had no mottos, and the halfpenny had simply the cross on the one side, and the harp on the other.

On the perfect restoration of tranquillity, and the cooling down of the national mind from the turmoil and excitement of the civil war, towards 1651, Cromwell tried to avail himself of all the most recent improvements in coining, already adopted by several continental nations. It was determined that in beauty of mechanical execution the coins of this nation should not be behind any in the world; and Pierre Blondeau, a Frenchman, an artist who

had carried to perfection the most approved modes of stamping coin by the mill and screw, was invited to England.

On his arrival, he produced patterns of half-crowns, shillings, and half-shillings, coined by the new mill and screw, by which means a legend was impressed for the first time upon the *edge*.

His first pattern half-crown bore on the edge "Truth and Peace, 1651, Petrus Blondeus;" another, "In the third yeare of freedome by God's blessing restored." The shillings and sixpences were beautifully grained on the edges, and the pieces were brought to their true weight with the utmost exactness. An engagement was immediately entered into with Blondeau to work these pieces, which bore the usual device of the Commonwealth. But no issue was ever made of them; they can therefore only be considered as patterns, and are very rare. The established workers of the mint also sent in fresh rival patterns, one of which had the double shield, supported by winged figures, with the motto, "Guarded by angels." In the end, the opposition of the existing functionaries in the mint, frustrated the plans of Blondeau, who was prevented from carrying into effect his projected reforms; an interesting paper on which subject will be found in the Transactions of the Numismatic Society. The screw process was, however, adopted, though without the immediate aid of Blondeau, who appears to have been ill used.

In the latter part of the protectorate, after his second solemn investiture, Cromwell caused coins to be executed bearing his bust, but it is supposed that few, if any, were issued, as coins of the old type of the same date are much more numerous; they must therefore be regarded as patterns. They are exceedingly well executed by the mill process, and have the laureated bust of the protector, with OLIVAR. D. G. R. P. ANG. SCO. ET HIB. ETC. PRO., assuming the title of "Protector of the Republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland," but substituting "etc." for France. This bust is the work of the celebrated Simon, and most beautifully executed, in a manner far superior in point of art to anything that had ever before been seen upon an English coin. The crowns and half-crowns are indeed most remarkable medals, as regards both the engraver's and the coiner's art. The reverses have a crowned shield, with the arms of England (the cross), Ireland, and Scotland, and the legend "Pax quæritur bello." These crowns and half-crowns have letters beautifully impressed on the edge; the shillings and sixpences of the same types are very neatly grained. They were the best executed coins that had ever issued from the English, or perhaps any foreign mint.

The silver standard adopted by the Commonwealth was 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, and 18 dwts. alloy. Specimen No. 13, Plate 10, is the first half-crown of the Commonwealth. No. 21, Plate 10, is the half-crown with the bust of the protector. No. 20, Plate 10, is the reverse of a pattern for a half-crown, prepared by the ordinary workers of the mint in rivalry with Blondeau.

The gold coins bore the same devices and mottos as the silver ones, and were simply twenty-shilling, ten, and five-shilling pieces; the twenty-shilling pieces contained 3 dwts. 20 grs., of 22 carats gold. No. 17, Plate 10, is the reverse of one of the first twenty-shilling pieces. No. 22, Plate 10, is a later one, with the bust of the protector, which is not near so good a likeness or so well executed as those on the silver pieces. On the *gold* coin the bust is represented without drapery, a distinction subsequently adopted in succeeding coinages up to George III., with the exception of those of Queen Anne, who somewhat fastidiously objected on the score of delicacy. Some few of her gold coins nevertheless exist without the drapery; but they are probably only suppressed patterns. The twenty-shilling piece of the protector appears smaller than previous ones, in consequence of being much thicker, the milled pieces becoming generally smaller and thicker than the previous hammered ones, or broad pieces, as they were termed, after the issue of the thicker money coined by the mill and screw.

The trials of copper farthings were again repeated during the Commonwealth, but it is supposed were never issued, though many patterns were made. No. 18, Plate 10, is one of the patterns, and the following specimen (No. 19) another of the reverses, which appeared on different patterns; the legend round the head was, like the other Commonwealth coins, in English, and reads, "Oliver Pro. Eng. Sco. and Ire.": some of the reverses had "Convenient change"—others, a ship, with "And God direct our course." No. 19 had three columns, bearing respectively the badges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, united by a twisted band, with the motto, "Thus united invincible;" another had "Charity and Change." The only mint during the Commonwealth and Protectorate was that of the Tower of London. These farthings were intended to supersede the great numbers of private tokens in circulation, which, during the civil wars, had increased to an enormous extent, to be noticed in the reign of Charles II.

No coins appear to have been struck in Scotland during the Commonwealth.

In Ireland, during the troubled part of the reign of Charles I., and also during the Commonwealth, great numbers of town tokens were struck, as in England. These pieces resembled the English in their general style. It would appear that an attempt had been made to supersede them, as in England, by the issue of a copper coin by the government; specimens being known of a copper farthing, thought to have been struck at that time, having on the obverse the arms of the Commonwealth, and on the reverse, "A Corke farthing." (No. 20, Plate 18).









## CHAPTER XI.

COINS OF CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM AND MARY, AND  
WILLIAM III.

CHARLES II. (1660 to 1684). On his accession in the year 1660, there were issued silver coins, from half-crowns downwards, with the exception of groats and quarter-shillings, which were soon after added. They were, with a view perhaps of restoring the ancient monarchical feeling, much like the earliest of his father's coins, with the old shield traversed by the cross-fleurie, and the same mottos; the new improvements of the mill and screw being also abandoned, and the coins again produced by the old process of the hammer.

The first issue of shillings, etc., was without numerals indicating the value, and without the inner circle; a second issue had the numerals, but still no inner circle was added; but in 1661 the respective values were ordered to be stamped on each, and these new coins had also the inner circle or line within the legend, absent in the first. These first silver coins of Charles II. may be said to be the last of our series which represent the sovereign in the costume of the day. Some have the lace collar over armour, and others over an ermine robe, all being crowned, also for the last time; no subsequent English coin having borne a "crowned head," in a literal sense, till the issue of the florins of Victoria.

In 1662, the previously-mentioned Peter Blondeau was again engaged to direct the mint upon the new principle of the mill and screw, and a competition for engraving the dies was entered into between the celebrated Simon, who had engraved the dies for the protector's last coins, and John Roeter of Antwerp, which was unfairly decided in favour of Roeter. Simon afterwards produced a pattern crown, most exquisitely engraved, which is considered one of the finest examples of the art of that or even any period, and very superior to any contemporary work of the class, if we except his own previous works, the busts of Cromwell on the crowns and half-crowns.

On the edge of this famous coin is inscribed his petition to the king against the previous unjust decision; which was of course unheeded. The petition runs, "Thomas Simon most humbly prays your Majesty to compare this his tryal piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed, more gracefully ordered, and more accurately engraven, to relieve him."\*

\* Simon had been several years one of the chief engravers of the mint, and prepared some of the first money; but it is conjectured that he was discharged after this trial.



In 1663 the first issue of the improved milled coinage took place, consisting of crowns, half-crowns, and half-shillings, very well executed, though inferior to Simon's pattern, having the king's head laureated, and the shoulders mantled in the conventional Roman style, with "*Carolus II. Dei Gratia.*" The head is turned to the left, the contrary direction to that of the head of Cromwell on his coins; \* the reverses consisted of four shields, forming a cross, having the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with linked C's in the angles, the Star of the Garter in the centre, and around the king's titles and the date. The crowns and half-crowns have "*Decus et tutamen*" on the edge—an invention, like the milled notching or graining, to prevent clipping. This motto, Evelyn says, was suggested by himself to the mint-master, to intimate that it was at once an ornament and a protection to the coin.† The shillings and sixpences were milled at the edge, at first by an upright notching, and afterwards by an oblique one; some have on the edges the year of the reign in numerals, as "*Anno Regni XVIII.*;" others written, as "*Tricesimo sexto*" (36); by which numbers it will be seen that the reign was calculated from the death of Charles I., leaving out the Commonwealth. The portrait style, in the costume of the day, above alluded to, was now finally abandoned, the first and second issue of Charles being the latest examples of that style. The feeling of the new designs was doubtless taken from the designs of Simon, who had previously introduced it in the busts of the protector.

This conventional Roman style was introduced in France about the reign of Louis XIII., and in matters of taste France began at that time to influence very sensibly that of England. The disposition of the four shields in the form of a cross, that extremely pleasing device which continued to the reign of George III., was also, I have no doubt, an idea of Simon's, judging from early patterns of his, in which it is imperfectly shadowed out, as completed in his pattern crown.

The smaller coins of this issue were milled, but retained the old types. Soon after, however, the small coins were assimilated in style, the groat being distinguished by four linked C's, the three-penny piece by three, the two-penny piece by two, and the penny by a single C; silver halfpennies being no longer coined.

The coins below sixpence, after this introduction of the mill, were only struck for maundy money; and in order to conform to the old custom of distributing the royal bounty on Holy, or Maundy Thursday, when a white bag was given to a certain number of poor persons, containing as many coins as the age of the king numbered in years.

No. 1, Plate 11, is a sixpence of the second issue, the portrait-bust still

\* Now began the custom of placing the king's head on his coin in a direction contrary to that of his predecessor, first suggested perhaps by a feeling of aversion to the memory of Cromwell, on whose effigy the king probably wished that his own should turn its back.

† Hawkins.

adhered to, with a line inside the legend, and the numerals to denote the value. No. 4, Plate 11, is the halfpenny of that or the first coinage—perhaps one of the last that were coined. No. 2, Plate 11, is a sixpence of the new coinage by mill and screw, when the Roman head was adopted for all the coins, with the four shields forming a cross for the reverse of all the larger ones, but the smaller, from fourpence down to a penny, having four, three, two, and one crowned C's, to indicate their respective values, as shown in Specimens 5 and 6, Plate 11, which were, however, no longer coined for circulation, as stated, but merely as maundy money. No. 3, Plate 11, is the fine pattern crown of Simon, which has the petition on the edge, and the name of the engraver, "Simon," under the bust. A specimen of this fine coin was recently sold at the sale of Colonel Durant for £155.

In Scotland, the crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, of the English coinage, were represented by coins of very similar appearance, and of nearly the same types; there were the four-mark piece, of the size of the English crown, the two-mark, one-mark, and half-mark. They had in the centre of the reverse between the shields the numerals  $\frac{LII}{4}$ ,  $\frac{XXVI}{4}$ ,  $\frac{XIII}{4}$ , and  $\frac{VI}{8}$ , to denote their value in Scottish money. These pieces were succeeded by the dollar, and its one-half, one-quarter, and one-eighth, passing respectively for twenty-eight, fourteen, seven, and three shillings and sixpence Scotch. The half-quarter has a saltire cross on the reverse, with a thistle, a rose, a fleur-de-lis, and a harp, in the angles.

In Ireland no silver money was issued in this reign, unless it be the crowns and half-crowns, irregularly formed pieces, which rather come under the head of money of necessity than regular coinage, like the gun money of James II. These crowns and half-crowns, supposed to have been struck in Ireland between the death of his father and his own restoration, have a large crown on the obverse, like some of his father's siege money, and "V" and "II. VI." on the reverse respectively. The value and titles are CAR II D G. MAG. BRIT. on the obverse, and FRA. ET. HYB. RE. F. D., etc., on the reverse.

The gold coins were not various; the first had the head, laureated in the Roman style, and on the reverse the old shield; the next had the head similar, but the oval shield on the reverse. The reverses of both had the motto "Florent concordia regna." There were pieces of twenty, ten, and five shillings. In 1664, a gold coinage by the new process was issued, having on the obverse the bust undraped, as in the Cromwell gold pieces, and on the reverse, four crowned shields, bearing the arms of England, etc., with sceptres in the angles: this coinage consisted of five-pound pieces, forty-shilling pieces, and twenty-shilling pieces, for the first time called "guineas," from being made from gold brought from Guinea by the African Company; there were also half-guineas. The coins made of the gold imported by the African Company had a small elephant under the bust of the king; this was done as an encouragement to the importation of gold. The term "guinea," for a

twenty-shilling piece, afterwards continued to the reign of George III., without reference to the source of the gold.

It was determined at the beginning of this reign, the English gold coins being still above the value of those of other nations, to increase their nominal value, and the old unit of 20 shillings was now raised to 22 shillings, and other coins in proportion, the new coinage being made to correspond; that is to say, the pound weight of gold was coined into as many more pieces of 20 shillings, and 10 shillings respectively, as would make them of the same relative value as the raised units, etc. In 1670 the weight of the gold coins was again reduced, the pound of gold (22 carats fine) being coined into £44, 10s. At the end of this reign an Act was passed, with the view of encouraging the bringing of bullion to the mint, removing all charges upon coinage for private individuals: the state undertaking to be at the whole expense, and the full weight of bullion was to be returned in coin without any deduction. But to defray the expenses incurred, a duty on foreign wines, vinegar, etc., was levied.

No. 7, Plate 11, is a forty-shilling piece, the double of the guinea, or twenty-shilling piece, which was issued as 20 shillings, and not as 21 shillings; its increased value occurring from the subsequent scarcity of gold.

No gold appears to have been issued in Scotland in this reign.

The money of our colonies and dependencies now became interesting.

It is said that Charles II. was much displeased with the colonists in Massachusetts on account of their coining money, which he considered a breach of his prerogative, and threatened, to Sir Thomas Temple, that they should be punished. Upon which Sir Thomas took some of the pieces from his pocket to show to the king, on the reverse of which was a pine tree, one of that species of pine, common in the colony, that grows flat and bushy at the top, like the Italian pine. The king asked what tree it was: upon which Sir Thomas Temple told him that of course it was the Royal Oak which had preserved his majesty's life; upon which the king said no more of punishment, but, laughing, called them "honest dogs."

The first colonial money coined by England was that of Elizabeth, by whom the East India Company was first incorporated. It being found that, in the countries where the Spaniards and Portuguese had preceded us, the Spanish dollar was the only European money in repute, the merchants petitioned the queen to allow the export of a certain quantity of these pieces yearly. But she determined rather to supply the want by a coinage of her own, and caused pieces of the value of the Spanish dollar to be struck, with British types and legends. These pieces have the arms of England, crowned, on the obverse, and the portcullis of Westminster, crowned, on the reverse, from which this issue became known as the "Portcullis money." There are the crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence of this money; but they were in

reality pieces of eight Spanish rials, of four, of two, and of one rial, being worth respectively 4s. 6d., 2s. 3d., 1s. 1½d., and 6¾d. each.

In the reign of James, the merchants bought off the restriction against the export of Spanish dollars, so that no money of the English types again circulated in India till the reign of Charles II. On the marriage of that king with Katherine of Portugal, in 1662, the island and port of Bombay were ceded to him as part of her dower; after which time, *rupees* were coined by the company for the new colony.\* (Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 23.) There was also an Indian copper coinage, that of the *pice*, consisting of five *rees*, eighty of which go to the *rupee*; that is, about one-third of an English penny in value. The *pice* was of very similar type to the *rupee*.

Gold *pagodas*, as they were termed by the colonists, were also coined by the company (No. 9, Plate 23), in which the Madras Presidency followed the example of that of Bombay. The king of Golconda was applied to by the company to ratify this coinage; but this permission being refused, the company sought, and obtained, authority from the English court.

"The English pagodas had frequently," says Snelling, "an Arabic inscription on both sides, without the *idol* forming the type of the Indian ones; but these were more properly the gold *rupee*." The silver *fanam* of Bombay is also a well-known coin of the reign of Charles II.; it is about the size of an English silver penny of the time, but thicker, and has on the obverse an Indian divinity, and on the reverse two linked C's, with no legend.

Other Indian coins, from about 1690 to 1700, were termed *doudoos*, and *cash*, the *doudoos* being ten *cash*, eight *doudoos* going to one *fanam*. The *doudoos* have on one side a cross, in the form of St. Andrew's, with "EIC" in the angles, and a dart in the upper one, with the date on the reverse; or sometimes an Arabic inscription. The smaller piece was slightly different in its devices.

#### THE COPPER COINAGE.

Copper being first issued in bulk in this reign, this appears the proper place to give a slight sketch of the events which led to its adoption. As early as the reigns of Henry VI., V., and VI., the black, or base money, of the Continent circulated in England, to supply the deficiency of small national coin, and was imitated here in the monasteries, and perhaps even by private individuals. These pieces were known as "Abbey pieces," and were about the size of the Tournaye groat of Henry VIII., and of somewhat similar type to the reverse of that coin. In the reign of Henry VIII., or even earlier, many traders, to remedy the want of small change, coined for themselves leaden tokens, to pass as halfpennies and farthings; but as these tokens were only payable by the persons issuing them, great loss was caused to the poor, as

\* A clause in the charter, granted in 1677, empowers the company to stamp money, etc., at Bombay.

they could only obtain goods in direct exchange for them, though they had been issued as small change for true coin of the realm. No. 1, Plate 22, is a leaden token of this class, with the date 1599.

In the reign of Elizabeth it had become a common custom for vintners and others to issue such tokens as small change, almost every tavern having its own peculiar device. Mr. Akerman, in his interesting work on the subject, has engraved the tokens issued at the "Boar's Head," in Eastcheap, and also by the celebrated "Mermaid" tavern, in Cheapside. Nos. 4 and 6, Plate 22, are examples of these tokens, which were probably issued during the period that Shakspeare and Jonson frequented those well-known resorts of wits of the period.

In order to put a stop to this kind of private coinage, it was proposed to Elizabeth to issue a small copper coinage,—No. 1, Plate 22, being the pattern proposed for a copper halfpenny; but it was never issued.

About this time, the city of Bristol struck copper farthings by authority, and afterwards some other towns were allowed to do so, the town tokens being open to much less abuse than those of private persons. An order in council relating to the Bristol tokens, is dated 1594.

In the reign of James I., it was determined, after much discussion, to issue a small copper coinage, in order to put a stop to the currency both of town and private tokens, which had greatly increased in numbers; but still there was a regal repugnance to copper, as a metal for the national coinage, nearly as strong as that which had caused Elizabeth to prevent the proposed issue of halfpence and farthings in her reign, arising, probably, from the knowledge of the injury that *base* money had at a former period caused to the currency of France, and the extraordinary depreciation of all the money of the realm which had been more recently produced by it in Scotland. But these cases were quite distinct from, and had no analogy with, a pure copper currency, equal in its nominal and intrinsic value, as might have been known, even at that time, from the example of the noble copper coinage of ancient Rome, which was then beginning to be well understood by the learned, especially since the celebrated Budæus had written his excellent treatise upon it in the reign of Francis I.

James I., however, still persevered in his prejudice, and the copper farthings were not coined at the royal mints, but through the means of patents granted to private persons, the first being granted to the Lord Harrington.

No. 3, Plate 22, is one of the copper farthings of James I. It bears on the reverse a harp, which proves that they were chiefly intended for Ireland, the destination of all discreditable coin, though the royal proclamation concerning their issue made them current in England, and forbade private and town tokens in consequence; which, however, did not cease at that time. Copper farthings, similar to those of James I., were issued by Charles I., differing only in the name; and a larger kind was also proposed, a pattern for which was made, it is supposed, by Briot. (No. 5, Plate 22.) Farthings of the Commonwealth have been sufficiently described among the coins

already noticed of that period, and it is therefore unnecessary to revert to them here. The farthings of James I., Charles I., and the Commonwealth, having failed, either from their small number, or other causes, to supply the want of small change, the town and private tokens went on increasing, especially during the civil wars and the Commonwealth; and Snelling and other authors have engraved hundreds of varieties of this illicit private coinage, issued between 1620 and 1670.

No. 7, Plate 22, a Bristol farthing; No. 5, a Cirencester farthing; No. 8, a Nottingham halfpenny, will afford a good general idea of the style of the town tokens issued between 1620 and 1670.

As examples of private or tradesmen's tokens, No. 12, Plate 22, a halfpenny of Robert Watmough, who describes himself as carrier for Halifax, and No. 11, a halfpenny of Thomas Dedicot, of Bewdley, will be sufficient. The word "token," by which these pieces are so well known, is but rarely found upon any of them. It will be seen that Dedicot made the halfpenny *square*, to suit his motto.

In the reign of Charles II. many pattern farthings were suggested before the real copper coinage was issued. The two types numbered 10, one being the coin referred to by Lord Lucan, are sufficient for examples. Some of these pattern farthings were tin, with a circle of copper in the centre, similar to the plugged halfpence of subsequent reigns.

The first copper halfpennies and farthings, equal in their nominal and intrinsic values, were issued in 1672; but still the royal prejudice would not allow them to be coined in the national mints. They were manufactured in virtue of a patent granted to some individual unknown, and the head of the king was, apparently to denote the inferiority of the copper coinage, turned in the opposite direction to that on the gold and silver coin, and the motto also styled the new coin "*Famulus nummorum*," the "Servant of money." This money, however, was of the finest Swedish copper, and of full weight.

The favour with which this coinage was received appears to have removed the royal prejudice against a currency of the inferior metals, and a large amount of these farthings was soon afterwards issued from the royal mint.

In 1665, it is said copper halfpence were issued in small quantities—some say only patterns were done: they have the king's head, and "*Carolus a Carolo*;" the reverse, Britannia, with *Quatuor maria vindico*, alluding to the empire of the sea, so often claimed by our sovereigns. The figure of Britannia is very graceful, and beautifully executed. It is said to be a portrait of the beautiful Frances Stuart. The general character of the device was, of course, suggested by the Britannia of some of the Roman coins relating to Britain; but it has a character of its own, and all the details of face, figure, and drapery, are quite original; the drapery falling off the shoulder is very graceful, and the whole is executed in an elegant feeling. The farthing is not quite so elegant, and has one leg bare. The specimen is the halfpenny, show-

ing the obverse only. Lord Lucan's farthings were so called from the circumstance of his making a speech against the state of the currency in the presence of the king; first alluding to the total disappearance of the Commonwealth coins, which, from the form of the two joining shields, were called "Breeches:" "a fit name," said Lord Lucan, "for the coins of the Rump." He then proceeded to state, that he saw no probability of their being replaced, "unless by *copper* farthings, and this is the metal (said he), according to the inscription on it, which is to *vindicate the dominion of the four seas*." (See No. 10, Plate 22.) The halfpence and farthings positively issued in 1672, the first real copper coinage, were the same as the patterns above alluded to, with the exception of having the simple motto "Britannia" on the reverse, instead of the one ridiculed by Lord Lucan; and these coins being of the intrinsic value that they were issued for, nearly superseded the private tokens, which no law had been able to put down. But so great was the convenience of the latter, and the profit upon their issue, that they still continued for some time, notwithstanding stringent enactments against them. The tin farthings, issued at the end of this reign, with a stud of copper, to render their imitation difficult, have on the edge, like the earlier patterns, "*Nummorum famulus*."

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In Scotland, in this reign, "Boddles" or "Turners" were still struck, some having the numeral "II." under a crown, with a small "C. R." on each side, and others with simply "C. R.," crowned, on the obverse—and on the reverse, a thistle, with the motto "*Nemo me impune lacessit*." Towards the end of Charles's reign, a coin of a new description was issued, to which, however, the old name "bawbee" was given, though unlike the "bawbee" of the reign of Mary, which it was enacted in the reign of James VI. should pass for threepence. The present "bawbee" was to pass for sixpence Scotch; and the "boddle" now issued was to pass for twopence. The "bawbee" is engraved in Plate 19, Nos. 19 and 20; and the boddle in No. 21.

In Ireland a few copper farthings were issued by Charles II., similar to those of his father. (See No. 22, Plate 18.) When these farthings were issued, the tokens were forbidden. In 1679, the coin known as the "Dublin halfpenny" was struck; it has on the obverse a shield bearing the arms of Dublin, three castles, and the date 1679, the legend being "The Dublin Halfpenny"; the reverse has the Irish harp, crowned, with the motto "Long live the King." On May 16, 1680, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Armstrong and Colonel Legge, to make copper halfpence for the use of Ireland, for twenty-one years—these halfpence have the King's bust and titles on the obverse, as on the English coinage, and the harp on the reverse.

## THE COINS OF OUR AMERICAN AND OTHER WESTERN COLONIES.

The earliest coins of our American colonies, are of a date prior to the present reign, but they may be most conveniently alluded to in this place. The first is the copper piece of the Sommer Islands, named after Sir George Sommers, who was shipwrecked there in 1609. A colony was formed in 1612, and soon afterwards a copper currency was established, having on one side hog, with the legend "Sommer Island," and the numeral "XII.," the signification of which is not known—on the reverse is a ship without legend. (See No. 16, Plate 23.)

The first English coinage of silver in America was commenced in consequence of the great quantity of silver taken from the Spaniards about this time by the buccaneers—a mint being established at Boston to coin it into money. The coins there struck have much the aspect of siege pieces, being merely tolerably circular pieces of silver plate, stamped near the edge with the letters "N E" on one side, and the numerals "XII" and "VI" on the shillings and sixpences respectively, on the other side. (See Plate 23, No. 2, a sixpence.) The court afterwards ordered, in 1651, that this coinage should be improved; and shillings, sixpences, fourpences, twopences, and pennies, were issued of these types. Nos. 5 and 6, Plate 23, are a three-penny piece. There were also shillings of another pattern issued in the same year, having the good Samaritan for principal type instead of the tree. The date 1652 was continued for thirty years afterwards. These coinages took place in the time of Cromwell, who did not interfere with them, but they were suppressed after the restoration as not by royal authority.

Lord Baltimore, who obtained from Charles I., in 1632, a patent grant as "proprietor" of Maryland, sent out a colony of 200 persons; and either at that time, or when his grant was renewed in 1661 by Charles II., coined money bearing his portrait, with the inscription *CÆCILIVS DNS TERRÆ MARLÆ*, etc., and on the reverse his arms, crowned with an imperial crown, and the motto "*Crescite et multiplicamini*," and between the respective values of the coins, "XII." on the shilling, and "VI." and "IV." on the sixpences and groats, which were of fine silver, and nearly equal to the English coinage in weight. There was also a small copper coin, with the legend "*Denarium Terræ Mariæ*" on the reverse.

James II. (1684 to 1688). The head of the king on the money of this reign is turned to the left, the reverse of that of his predecessor; a custom that we shall now find constantly adhered to. The coins were in other respects similar to the last of Charles II., having the bust and name on one side, and the arms and titles on the other, with no other motto. The arms were arranged on four shields as a cross, but without linked letters in the angles:



the inscriptions on the *edges* are, "Anno regni secundo," etc. The shillings and sixpences are milled with oblique lines, and the lesser pieces, or maundy money, are marked "III." to "I." with a crown above. The five-shilling pieces, in fine condition, of this king, are rare; that of 1688, very perfect, sold at Edmonds's sale for £1, 11s. 6d.

No. 8, Plate 11, is a half-crown, which was not quite equal in execution to the crown; and No. 9, Plate 11, is a twopenny piece: the other pieces of the maundy money of this reign being of the same types.

James II. again altered the values of the principal Scottish coins—issuing a ten-shilling piece, Scotch, about the size of the English shillings of Charles I., and a forty-shilling piece about the size of the English crown, both of nearly the same type as the English coin.

The gold coinage of this reign differs only from the last in having the head turned the other way. The specimen is No. 10, Plate 11, a five-pound piece. The types of the two-pound piece, and also of the guineas and half-guineas—names now established for all twenty and ten-shilling pieces—were the same as on the larger pieces.

No Scottish gold was issued in this reign.

Of copper money very little appeared in the reign of James II., the half-pennies and farthings being of tin with a copper plug. The reverses are the same as those of his predecessor, but they are not quite so well executed; both halfpennies and farthings have "Famulus nummorum" on the edge. The specimen (No. 10½, Plate 11,) shows the obverse of a tin halfpenny, with "Jacobus secundus" for legend, and a copper plug.

No Scottish copper was issued.

Some colonial money for Bombay was issued of the same type as that of the preceding reign, and the authority to strike money granted which had been refused by the king of Golconda, when rupees and pice were struck, also similar to those of the previous reign. (See No. 18, Plate 23.)

In Ireland, the patent for making halfpence was continued to the assignee of Sir J. Armstrong.

The most remarkable events of the Irish coinage of this reign are those connected with the "gun money." After the revolution of 1688, a proclamation was issued by James, in Ireland, for making shillings and sixpences of mixed metal. They were made from old pieces of ordnance, etc., and are known as the "gun money." They are similar on the obverse to the halfpence, but have on the reverse, two sceptres in saltire through a crown, between "I. R." in decorative italic cypher, with the date 1689, and the values "XII." and "VI." Half-crowns were soon after issued of the same type as the shillings, but with the numerals "XXX." over the crown, and "Aug." for August (No. 15, Plate 21),—all this money having the month in which it was struck, under the crown. In March, 1690, pennies and halfpence of white metal were struck, with the king's bust on the obverse, and a crowned harp

on the reverse (Plate 22, No. 16); some having the king on horseback on the obverse. (Plate 22, No. 13.) In April, crowns of white metal were struck. They have the king on horseback on the obverse, and on the reverse the four shields, like the English coin. On the edge they have "*Melioris Tessara, fati. anno. regno. sexto.*" There are also half-crowns of this type. (See Plate 22, No. 14.) In June of the same year, the half-crowns were called in and restamped to pass as crowns, and some shillings and sixpences were called in in order to be coined smaller. A large crown was subsequently struck in white metal, with two plugs of brass in the king's horse on the obverse, and a large crown of brass in the centre of the reverse.

After James had quitted Ireland, copper money was issued in his name by his adherents, in Limerick. The pieces were halfpennies, now known as "*Hibernias*," from the figure of Hibernia on the reverse, holding the harp, and resembling the Britannia on the English copper money. (Plate 22, No. 18.)

In the reign of James II., a tin piece was issued for the American plantations, where the Spanish dollar chiefly circulated, with its parts, reals and half-reals. The English coin was intended to pass as twenty-four to the real, and is marked on the reverse, *VAL. 24 PART REAL. HISPAN*, round four shields, disposed as a cross, bearing the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France; on the obverse is the king on horseback, with his name and titles.

William and Mary, and William III. (1688 to 1702). The same style of coinage in its general appearance, fineness, and weight, was continued at the commencement of these reigns. The profiles of the king and queen are shown one over the other on the obverse of all the coins, surrounded with "*Gulielmus et Maria, Dei Gratia*," and are well executed: most of them have four shields arranged as a cross on the reverse, with the arms of Nassau in the centre, and "*W. & M.*" interlaced in the angles; but some have a simple crowned shield, with the arms of Nassau on an escutcheon of pretence. The maundy money has the profiles of the king and queen, with short hair, without drapery, and with numerals on the reverses, as previously. The small coins, after 1692, are not so well executed, and it is supposed that the Roeters, who still worked for the mint, engraved the first, but not the later specimens.

Notwithstanding these issues, the general coinage had fallen into a bad state, and much old hammered money (still in circulation) had become thin, and was counterfeited. These circumstances called down the attack of Fleetwood, bishop of Ely, as a similar state of things in the reign of Edward VI. had excited the indignation of Latimer. Fleetwood exclaimed, in a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall—"The cry will be like that of Egypt, loud and universal; for every family will be a loser; but it will fall severest upon the poor, who from a little can spare none:" and another preacher, seeking a simile between the debased coinage and the laxity of

religion, said—"Our divisions have been to our religion what the shears have been to our money," etc. etc.

After the death of the queen in 1695, the king, who continued to reign by the title of William III., determined on taking into consideration the bad state of the coinage (partly owing, as has been stated, to much of the old hammered money being still in circulation, which, being worn and clipped, was now below half its value), and restore its general character. A tax was therefore laid upon dwelling-houses, to raise the sum of £1,200,000, to supply the deficiency of the clipped money; and in order that there might be as little delay as possible in carrying a complete new coinage into effect, mints were established at York, Bristol, Norwich, Exeter, and Chester, the coins of each mint being respectively marked with the initial letter of the name of the place.

By means of the assistance of these country mints the new coinage was completed in two years. The high feeling of the king upon this subject, and his determination to obtain the best opinions and guidance in the matter, are strongly exemplified by the fact of his appointment of the illustrious Newton to the post of the master of the mint, which, however, did not take place till 1697. Nearly £7,000,000 of silver money were coined during the years 1696 and 1697; by far the greatest portion of which was minted at the Tower. Besides the letters indicating the places of mintage, some of the coins had marks, such as the *rose*, showing that the silver came from the west of England; the *plumes*, for Welsh silver; and the *elephant and castle*, indicating metal from the African Company. These marks were generally placed in the angles between the shields.

But the silver coinage was still insufficient, and continued so for twenty years afterwards, for in 1717, in the reign of George I., Sir Isaac Newton, who was still in office, said in his report, "If silver money become a little scarcer, people will, in a little time, refuse to make payments in silver without a premium."

On the new coinage the king's bust appears alone, surrounded by "*Gulielmus III. Dei Gratia*:" the reverse has the four shields as before, but without W or M in the angles, and all the pieces are alike, with the exception of mint-marks. The maundy money was as before, with the obvious exception of the king's bust being alone.

The few rare varieties that occur in collections, it is supposed, were only patterns. The shillings and sixpences varied slightly towards the close of the reign, in having the features of the bust a little more strongly marked, and the hair more upright on the forehead. The year of the reign was marked on the edges of the larger pieces.

In Scotland, in the reign of William and Mary, sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five shilling pieces were coined, the largest being about the size of the English crown. On the reverse the arms were in one shield; the smallest piece has on the reverse only a large cipher "W. and M.," interlaced and crowned.

William III. issued the same pieces, the smallest having a three-branched thistle, crowned, instead of the cypher, with the old Scottish motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit."

The specimen No. 11, Plate 11, is an English crown of William and Mary; No. 12, a shilling of William and Mary; and Nos. 16 and 20, are a fourpenny and a twopenny piece.

Specimen 14, Plate 11, is a crown of William III., without the "W. and M."

The gold coins of William and Mary, and William III., consisted of five-pound pieces, two-pound pieces, guineas, and half-guineas.

The specimen without a number, is a five-pound piece of William III.

The specimen 13, Plate 11, is a two-pound piece of William and Mary, with the simple shield on the reverse; the guineas and half-guineas were of the same pattern.

The two-pound piece of William III., had on the reverse four shields, as a cross, with sceptres in the angles, as on those of Charles II., and that device continued through the next two reigns. The five-pound pieces, guineas, and half-guineas, were of the same pattern.

The last Scottish gold was issued during the reign of William III. It consisted of a small issue of pistoles and half-pistoles, coined from the gold sent over by the Scottish African Company, from the colony of Darien. These pieces are of about the size of the English guinea and half-guinea, and resemble them in their types, except in having the arms on an entire shield, and on the larger pieces a rising sun under the bust of the king, in compliment to the fine ship of that name in which the gold was brought home.

Notwithstanding the eminent talents called to preside over monetary affairs in this reign, the most absurd enactments were passed with a view to remedy the scarcity of the precious metals—no gold, for instance, was to be worn as ornaments during the war, etc. In the reign of Charles II. it had been enacted, that no gold should be used in gilding carriages.

The guineas at one time rose in this reign to the value of 30*s.*, though pieces of equal weight and fineness could be purchased in Holland for 22*s.*; but an enactment reduced their value to 26*s.*, and afterwards to 22*s.* These were arbitrary enactments causing the greatest confusion, and it being eventually found that, on the Continent, gold bore a value as fifteen to one of that of silver, it followed, that to preserve something like that proportion, 21*s.* 6*d.* was sufficient for the guinea, and it afterwards passed at that price. This measure in some degree prevented the great export of silver for the purchase of gold.

The copper or tin coinage of these reigns did not vary much in character from those of Charles and James, but the halfpence of William III., 1699, have the Britannia with the right leg crossed, like that on the farthings of Charles. I; but on this coinage the leg is draped, and not bare. The tin half-pennies and farthings have a plug of copper in them. In 1593, Andrew

Corbet obtained a patent for making copper halfpence and farthings, for payment of £1,000 per annum, upon which it appears the patentee would have had a profit of £18,000 in the nine years of his patent, but the patent was taken from him in the following year.

No Scottish copper was issued in the reign of James II. ; but in that of William and Mary, there are bawbees with the portraits of the king and queen on the obverse, as on the English coinage ; and on the reverse, a thistle like that of Charles II. ; the boddles were of the same types as those of Charles.

Of William III. there is the bawbee with the portrait of the king only, and the same reverse as during the life of the queen.

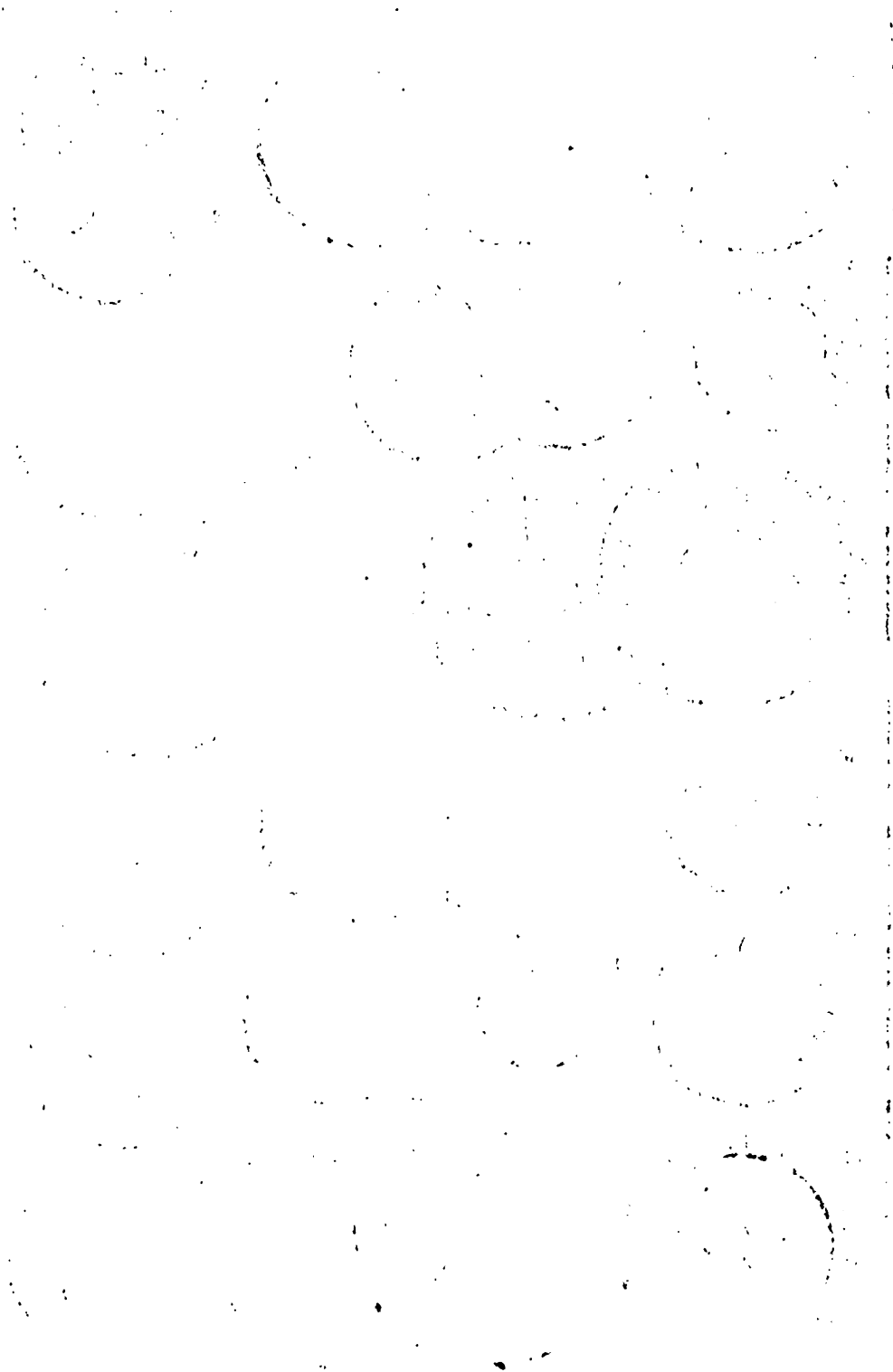
There was no Scottish copper issued after this reign.

In Ireland the only money issued during the reign of William and Mary, consisted of farthings of copper and brass. The heads occupied the obverse, as on English coins, and the crowned harp the reverse, similar to that of Charles II. (No. 17, Plate 22.)

The specimen No. 17, Plate 11, is a tin farthing of William and Mary, with a copper plug.

The specimen No. 18, Plate 11, is a copper halfpenny of William III.

On some of the patterns preserved, which were essays for the copper of these reigns, we find the queen's head on one side with "Maria II. Dei Gratia;" and on the other the king's head, with "Gulielmus III.," etc. ; others have the queen's head, and "Maria Dei. Gra.," on the obverse, and on the reverse, a rose, with "Ex candor decus." Of William III. there is a pattern farthing, half brass, with a sun on the reverse, and "Non Devio." These half-brass patterns look like the half of a sovereign and the half of a farthing stuck together, showing half the face red and half yellow.





## CHAPTER XII.

## COINS OF ANNE, GEORGE I., II., III., IV., WILLIAM IV., AND VICTORIA.

ANNE (1702 to 1714). The coins of this reign are of the same fineness, weight, and denomination as those of the last. The devices are also the same, with trifling variations; the bust of the queen, on the obverse, is turned to the right; the hair is simply bound by a fillet, and the shoulders clothed in a light drapery, fastened in front with a stud or rosette; the legend—"Anna Dei Gratia:" the reverse has the shields arranged as a cross, with the Star of the Garter in the centre, instead of the arms of Nassau of the last reign, and the date and titles, MAG. BRI. FR. ET. HIB. REG.

The slight variations alluded to are the marks denoting the sources from which the silver was derived, some having the plumes for the silver of the Welsh mines, and some the roses for west of England silver; also some with both marks, denoting that the silver was mixed. Others have the word "Vigo" under the queen's head, in commemoration of the capture of Vigo, and the Spanish galleons, from the treasure of which, the silver of those coins was derived. In some the fillet in the hair is rather differently arranged. This trifling change took place in the coins issued after the legislative union with Scotland, from which time the coinage of the two countries was assimilated in every respect, and the separate Scottish coinage, with distinct national emblems, which had continued from James I. to this time, was abolished. The only distinction, now, of the Scottish coins, was the letter "E," for the Edinburgh mint, under the queen's head. Those coins with the "E" were the last coins produced away from the Tower. The arms of the reverses were slightly changed at this time, and those of England and Scotland, instead of being on separate shields, were impaled together on the first and third shields, those of France and Ireland occupying the second and fourth. The larger pieces have the year of the reign on the edge—as "Anno regni quinto," "sexto," or as the year might be.

Previous to the legislative union, the last separate coins for Scotland, of different denomination to the English, were two pieces of ten and five shillings, Scotch, issued in this reign. The numerals for ten and five appear on the obverse of the respective coins, under the bust; the reverses were like the two smallest pieces of William III.

After this reign, the English coins circulated in Scotland as in England,



and no difference even of type was made in coins intended for Scotland. But now, as in subsequent reigns, the copper money coined for Ireland continued to be distinguished by the crowned harp.

Specimen 1, Plate 12, is a Vigo half-crown; No. 5, Plate 12, is a Vigo shilling. The maundy money had the bust like the larger pieces, but only crowned numerals on the reverse.

Of the coins of the short but prosperous reign of Anne, it may be said that they mark another epoch in the improvement of English money. Charles I., by his natural taste for art, had done much for the design and execution of the coin. The spirited conduct of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell, had imported foreign skill, and with its aid carried the coinage of the country, in perfection of execution, even beyond that of neighbouring nations. In the reign of Queen Anne great attention was again paid to the execution of the coins, and public interest seemed to be roused to the importance of those national monuments; as will be seen from the following suggestion to the government of the time by Dean Swift. He proposed that the halfpence and farthings, after the union with Scotland and the perfect assimilating of the two countries, should be entirely recoined; and that, "1st. They should bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable events of her majesty's reign. 2nd. That there be a society established for finding out proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices;" with other excellent suggestions and remarks.\* "By this means," he said, "medals that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will perpetuate the glories of her majesty's reign, and keep alive a gratitude for great public services, and excite the emulation of posterity." To these generous purposes nothing can contribute in so lasting a manner as medals of this kind, for they are of undoubted authority, not perishable by time, nor confined, like other monuments, to a certain place: the combination of these properties is certainly not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other records of illustrious actions. The great interest of such records on coins is fully shown by the coins of the Romans, who so fully appreciated this mode of commemorating great events. Nothing, however, was done upon these useful and patriotic suggestions, though they were warmly entertained for a time, and some patterns actually struck. "But if," observes Ruding, "the Dean's project had been carried out, it would have ennobled our coinage, and have elevated it far above the rank of a mere medium of commerce."

The gold coins of Anne were five-pounds, two-pounds, guineas, and half-guineas; the devices are the same as those on the silver coins, with the exception of the sceptres in the angles of the cross.

Specimen No. 2, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece.

\* But after all, the interference of Swift was rather factious than sincere; for afterwards, in the affair of Wood's copper coinage, he prevented a beneficial improvement which had received the sanction of Sir Isaac Newton.

The queen's fastidious modesty in insisting upon the drapery about the bust, caused her gold coins so closely to resemble the silver, that shillings and sixpences were gilt, and passed for guineas and half-guineas; the only difference being that the guineas had a lock of hair proceeding from the nape of the neck, and lying over the right shoulder on the right breast. Another mark by which these false guineas might be detected was, of course, the sceptres on the reverse.

Of copper, none at all was issued during the reign; and the Queen Anne farthings, of which so much has been said, were only patterns, and never issued; they are, however, not excessively rare, the one with sunk letters being the most scarce.

The specimen of these patterns, No. 4, Plate 12, is one with raised letters (by mistake printed in silver); the other copper specimen is a pattern halfpenny (No. 5, Plate 12), probably executed to celebrate the legal union with Scotland, having on the reverse, a rose and thistle on the same stem, crowned with a single crown.

Among the patterns of farthings is a fine one, with the bust well executed, and "Anna Augusta" for the obverse, and Victory in a war chariot, with the motto, "Pax missa per orbem," on the reverse (1713), probably struck with a view to commemorate the general peace. Others have the figure of Britannia, like that on the farthings of Charles II., but placed in a decorated niche. This is called the "canopy pattern." Some of these patterns are struck in gold.

There is a pattern halfpenny, among others, having on the reverse a small Britannia, holding a sprig of rose and thistle on the same stem, and above the figure, a large crown.

No Irish or Scotch copper was issued in the reign of Anne.

George I. (1714 to 1727). The coinage of this reign remained the same in weight and value as in the preceding; the bust of the king was executed in the conventional style of the time, with the Roman mantle and armour, and is turned to the left. The legend on the obverse contains the titles as well as the name, with (for the first time, as a permanent addition) "*Fidei Defensor*," "Defender of the faith," abbreviated like the rest, as *GEORGIUS D. G. M. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX F. D.* On the reverse his German titles appear, as "*Brunsvicensis et Lunenburgensis Dux, Sacra Romani Imperii Archithesaurarius et Elector*," abbreviated as *BRUN. ET L. DUX. S. R. I. A. TH. ET EL.* His own arms are not placed in the centre like those of William III., but occupy the fourth shield. The marks indicating the derivation of the silver are continued as in the preceding reign; some having also "S. S. C." for that received from the South Sea Company, and some a plume and linked C's for a Welsh copper company. The large pieces have on the edge their date, and that of the year of the reign—those of 1718, "Quinto," etc.

The maundy money has the bust, with "*Georgius Dei Gra.*," and on the reverse a crowned numeral, with the king's English titles only. It is a fact

rather disgraceful to English skill, that in this reign the coins issued in the petty state of Brunswick, for circulation in the king's foreign dominions, are far better in execution than the English ones. They are of similar device.

Of the scarcity of silver in this reign much has been said. It was certainly insufficient for the circulation required. Many distinguished men were consulted on this and other matters connected with the coinage; and in 1717, Sir Isaac Newton, still master of the mint,\* in his report previously alluded to, stated that "if silver money should become a little scarcer, people would refuse to make payments in silver."

Specimen, No. 6, Plate 12, is a crown. The crowns, shillings, and six-pences have the same devices. The guinea, minted in the Tower as twenty shillings, was reduced from its current rate of twenty-two shillings to twenty-one shillings. The gold coins of the realm were five-pound pieces, two-pound pieces, guineas, half-guineas, and for the first time (by that name) quarter-guineas. They had the same devices as those of his silver coins, with the exception of the omission of drapery on the bust, and the addition of the sceptres in the angles of the cross on the reverse.

Specimen 7, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece; and guineas, halves, and quarter guineas, or five-shilling pieces, were issued of the same device.

The copper coinage was much extended in this reign; above £46,000 worth having been issued in 1717, when the pound avoirdupois was coined into twenty-eight pence. Specimen No. 10, Plate 12, is a farthing.

The Britannia on the halfpenny now became more like that of the Roman coin, from which it was originally taken.

In Ireland a patent was granted to William Wood, Esq., to coin copper halfpence and farthings for Ireland; they were issued in 1722 and 1723; they have Hibernia on the reverse, leaning on a harp—one variety being a front figure beneath a rock. (No. 18, Plate 22.) They became known as "Hibernias." In 1722 the same Mr. William Wood obtained a patent for coining small money in America; and to profit by this speculation he coined thirteen shillings out of a pound of brass. His money was, however, refused, and never formed a currency. The types of these coins were, the king's head (George I.) on the obverse, with his name and titles; and a rose, or rose and crown, on the reverse, with the legend, *ROSA AMERICANA, UTILE ET DULCE*.

Of Indian money, it may be remarked that Tutanaque pice belong to this reign; they are of tin, and very light. The types resemble those of former pice, being a large crown on the obverse, like the crown on the siege pieces of Charles I., above which, are the letters G. R., and below BOMB.; the legend, "*Auspicio Regis et senatus Angliæ*," occupies the whole reverse, with the date 1718. There are also half-pice, which have on the one side "1739  $\frac{1}{2}$  P.," and on the other E. I., as on some of the copper ones of Madras.

\* He was appointed Master of the Mint in 1697, in the reign of William III.—*Snelling*.

The sovereigns of England, after the accession of George, issued a distinct class of money in their German dominions till the separation of Hanover by the accession of the female line to the English throne. The largest Hanoverian silver of George I. was the rix dollar, the head on the obverse of which is finely executed. The next piece was the gulden or florin, two-thirds of a dollar: obverse, the arms as on the English coins; and reverse, a wild man holding a tree. The one-third dollar had a well-executed figure of St. Andrew on the reverse; and the one-quarter dollar, the Hanoverian galloping horse—a very pretty type, and well executed. There was also the twelfth of a dollar, with a horse for the type of the obverse, and the value, in German, on the reverse. The piece of four marien-groschen had the arms, crowned, on the obverse, and the value on the reverse; the half of that piece had the crowned cypher G. R. on the obverse.

The farthing of George I., engraved in Plate 12, No. 16, is one of 1717; but there is another of 1723, with the head in much better relief.

George II. (1729 to 1760). No change took place in the weight, value, etc., of the coinage during this reign. The king's head was again reversed, as had now become customary, and his bust consequently turns to the right, with the titles, GEORGIUS II. DEI GRATIA, as in the reign of his father; on the reverse a change took place in the arrangement of the title, which stands thus: M. B. F. ET H. REX F. D. B. ET L. D. S. R. I. A. T. ET E., being merely a new abbreviation of the English titles, followed by a still more close abbreviation of the German ones, as will be perceived on referring to the version of them given at page 131. Some alteration was made in this reign in the pattern of the milling at the edges of the shillings, sixpences, etc.; for although the milled edge had put a stop to the old clipping system, filing was now resorted to for robbing the coin; by which means, after a portion of the edge had been removed, the upright or diagonal lines might be restored by the file. To remedy this evil, a serpentine line, very difficult to imitate by the file, was adopted, about 1740. In addition to the previous marks indicating the different sources of the metal, the word *Lima* occurs on those coins minted from the silver captured either by Lord Anson, in the great Acapulco galleon, or, as some think, by the Prince Frederic and Duke privateers. Others have an elephant, for the silver brought by the African Company. The Roman armour of the bust differs from that of George II. in having a lion's head for ornament. Specimen No. 8, Plate 12, is a half-crown coined in the year of the invasion of the pretender; the reverse has the roses, indicating west of England silver. The maundy money appeared as usual. The large silver pieces have their date and that of the reign on the edge—those of 1741, "Decimo Quarto," etc. etc.

Of the gold coins the quarter-guinea was omitted in this reign. Up to this time, a number of the old hammered coins of James I., Charles I., and Charles II., were still in circulation, as *broad pieces*; an appropriate name for the

old thin rials and angels. Their circulation was now forbidden by enactment.

The principal gold coins minted were guineas and half-guineas ; only a few five-pound and two-pound pieces being struck. The guinea was, by proclamation, in 1737, raised to 22*s.* 9*d.*, and foreign gold coins passing in this country, principally Portuguese, settled at proportionate rates. The designs of the reverses of the gold coins were changed in this reign, and the old garnished shield, somewhat varied, again adopted in place of the four shields disposed as a cross. The disposition of the arms which was thus abandoned on the gold, was, however, continued on the silver coins.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece.

The first coinage of copper halfpence and farthings in this reign was under warrant of Queen Caroline (in 1738), for the time guardian of the realm. There were forty-six halfpence coined out of the pound avoirdupois. Though the false coining of gold or silver had been made high treason, the coining of copper money was only deemed a misdemeanour, and the increased penalty of this reign only made the punishment two years' imprisonment ; which slight punishment, in comparison to that for forging gold and silver coins, was perhaps one cause of the great quantity of false copper money now put into circulation. Birmingham was the chief seat of these illegal mints, though destined afterwards to become the legitimate seat of the whole copper coinage of the country, in the great works at Soho ; up to this time, however, the copper coinage appears to have been still considered a temporary expedient only. No moneys were worked in this reign but at the Tower, and in the king's German dominions.

The copper coinage of George II. presents no remarkable feature ; the specimen, No. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Plate 12, is a halfpenny of 1742 (given in Ruding) ; the reverse, Britannia, very like that of the Roman coins, but stiff, and poor in style.

For Ireland, copper pence and halfpence were issued in this reign, only differing from the English in the crowned harp of the reverse.

For America, a small issue of brass pennies was made. The king's head on the obverse, and on the reverse a rose crowned, with the legend, "*Rosa Amercana, utile et dulce.*"

The German money of George II., was of similar types to that of George I. (see page 133), but very little was issued.

George III. (1760 to 1820). This prince, on succeeding to the throne of his grandfather, did not attempt to issue a silver coinage, although the currency was scanty in amount, and of decreased value, from excessive wear and filing ; which all the precautions of the last reign had not been able effectually to prevent. In 1762 and 1763, a small amount of coin (£5791) was issued, but of what denomination is not stated. In this coinage, and till 1787, one pound of silver of eleven ounces two pennyweights fine, to eighteen pennyweights alloy, was coined into sixty-two shillings. But Mr. Hawkins

supposes it was not from dies of George III., as no coinage (except the maundy money) is known, with his portrait,\* before 1763, when shillings to the amount of £100 (!) were struck for distribution to the populace of Dublin, when the Earl of Northumberland became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. A coinage, however, was in contemplation, as evinced by the pattern shilling of 1764. In 1780, a proposal was made, but without success, to take the coinage out of the hands of the sovereign, abolishing the mint establishment, and vesting the power of coining in the Bank of England. After such a proposition, it seems almost incredible that still no serious issue of silver money took place until 1787, twenty-seven years after the accession of the king, and more than the average length of a long reign. Yet, in 1772, the bad state of the coinage offered such temptations to forgery, that £1136 was granted, over and above the £600 per annum allowed in the reign of George II., for prosecuting forgers. The year 1787, was marked by an issue of £55,459 in shillings and sixpences. The shillings had the king's bust, much in the same modern Roman style as that of his predecessor, but stiff and less bold in execution, though an improvement on the shilling of 1763. On the reverse, these shillings resembled, both in type and legend, those of George II., except that in the last mentioned the crowns are between the shields instead of over them. As the silver pieces in circulation in this country at the time were all light, and worn quite smooth, the new shillings soon found their way to the melting pot, being worth considerably more than the old ones. The sixpences issued were exactly like the shillings, and shared their fate, for the small batches of new coins soon disappeared, and the currency became more and more scanty and depreciated, no great effort being made on the part of the government to remedy the evil.

Some time afterwards, however, the bad state of the silver coinage was somewhat alleviated by the sanction of the Bank tokens of five shillings, etc., which were well executed coins. They had on the obverse the king's head, much in the style of that which appeared on the great new coinage of 1817, and on the reverse the words *BANK TOKEN*, in a wreath of oak and bay, with the value. The tokens of the Bank of Ireland were of a similar class, and equally well executed: they consisted chiefly of three-shilling pieces, and of the well-known tenpennies, silver pieces resembling an English shilling.

The wretched state of the national coinage, inconceivable as it may appear, was allowed to go on, getting gradually worse and worse, till the year 1803, when it was attempted to patch up the grievance by stamping Spanish dollars,† for circulation, with a mark like that used at Goldsmiths' Hall for stamping silver plate. In the following year this stamp was changed for a small octagon con-

\* Very poorly done on the maundy money, till the issue (or patterns) of 1798, called the wire money, on which the head is very beautifully executed in low relief.

† The ancient Greeks also stamped the coins of another town or state with a countermark, when they accepted them for public circulation.

taining the king's head; and about the same time an arrangement was made with Mr. Boulton, of Soho, near Birmingham, to stamp the entire face of the dollar with a device, by means of machinery, the result of the great inventions in the application of steam-power, recently rendered practicable by Watt.

In 1798, Messrs. Dorrien and Company had endeavoured to remedy the scarcity of silver money to some extent, by sending bullion to the Tower to be coined on their own account, according to the act of Charles II., upon payment of certain dues. But after it was coined, the government, of this unfortunate period, destined ever to be obstructive, caused it all to be melted down, on the plea that a coinage could not be lawful without a proclamation; so that this attempt on the part of the public to right the grievance themselves, was rendered unavailing by the government. These coins, of which a very few specimens escaped the crucible, were, with the exception of the date, exactly like those of 1787.

A small issue of shillings, sixpences, and maundy money, took place in 1797 and 1798, the heads on which are very much more beautifully executed than those of any other coins of the reign. Some consider them to have been only patterns; they are known among collectors as the *wire* money, from the very slender numerals on the maundy pieces. (No. 14, Plate 12.)

It was not till 1816, during the regency of the Prince of Wales, that it was determined to meet the difficulties of a new coinage. This event was, perhaps, more owing to the activity and energy of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, than to any initiative feeling on the part of the government: those gentlemen had, in the copper coinage confided to them in 1797, proved the efficacy of their vast machinery, and had scientifically considered all the principles upon which the coinage of a great nation ought to be conducted, especially as regards its protection from the clipper and filer, and from the effects of legitimate wear and tear. The first safeguard was obtained by such further improvements in the milling of the edges as rendered manual imitation almost impossible: and the second, the protection of the impress, by preventing it from rubbing against other coins, was to a great extent effected by a rim round the extreme edge, raised somewhat higher than the relief of the device. Many beautiful and successful specimens were produced; and at length, by these facilities, and the arrival of the grievance at an insupportable height, the government was stimulated to meet the difficulty. Messrs. Boulton and Watt erected machinery in the Tower similar to their own at Soho, and a new coinage began in earnest.

The French Revolution had worked great changes, not only in politics, but in art, throughout Europe; and the new coinage was consequently in a totally different style of design to all previous ones. The Parisian school of painting, founded by David, had thrown off the fluttering pomposity of the modern Roman style, and aimed at copying even nature through the artistic medium of the statuesque simplicity of Greek models;

and however full of exaggeration in itself, the new style led the way to a better and more natural school of art than that which sprung up about the period of Louis XIII., and had been growing gradually worse till the revolution of 1784; even more characterless in England than on the Continent. The dies for the new coinage were executed by Wyon; and, influenced by the general new feeling in art, he abandoned the conventional Roman armour and mantle, and produced a simple laureated bust, founded upon the style of antique models,—those of Greece now furnishing the style rather than those of Rome, which, in the previous phase of art, had been filtered down to the most insipid conventional mannerism; whilst the new school, with all its defects, set forward with fresh and more invigorating influences. The design adopted was a laureated head, with the bust undraped; too familiar to require description. The reverse also was changed, and the old disposition of the four shields as a cross, finally abandoned. In February, 1817, the issue of the new half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, took place, and all who recollect that event can bear witness to the agreeable impression it produced, and the extraordinary beauty the coins appeared to possess, after the flat, bent, and battered bits of silver, so far below their nominal value, that had been long made to pass current as the coin of the realm. The old shillings were about one-quarter, and the sixpences one-third, less than their proper value.

The new pieces were indeed, in mechanical execution, the finest that had ever been issued in Europe, and the artistic merit of the devices was very considerable. One of the principal defects was a coarse, or, perhaps, brutal expression in the face of the king's portrait.

Crown-pieces were soon afterwards issued, having on the reverse a device similar to that of the George noble of Henry VIII., but in the new school of art: the knight in armour being superseded by a *classical* naked figure, wearing only a Greek helmet. This attempt to exhibit on the coinage a work of art of a class superior to the trivialities of heraldic blazonry, was made by Pistrucci, whose work did not, however, give the satisfaction it deserved, and was over-severely criticised. This group of St. George and the Dragon is, it is said, nearly a copy from a figure in a battle-piece on an antique gem of the Orleans collection; but several Greek coins which I could point out might equally well have furnished the model. It is on the whole a spirited performance; but the improvement it might have effected in the style of the art displayed on our coinage was completely swamped by the petty jealousies and bickerings, caused by the introduction of Pistrucci (a foreigner) to the mint. He had previously engraved a similar figure upon the twenty-shilling gold coin of the new issue, now again termed a "sovereign" after a lapse of three centuries. The silver crown of George III. is now getting scarce, and the handsome reverse, being better appreciated, collectors give from twenty to thirty shillings for well-preserved specimens.

On the half-crowns the armorial bearings are displayed on a simple shield,



with the arms of Hanover on an escutcheon of pretence; they have on the reverse, "Britanniarum Rex, Fid. Def.:" in the garniture of the shield are the letters "W. W. P.," for William Wellesley Pole, master of the mint; and "W." for Wyon, the engraver: the edge is milled with a peculiar notching, and not lettered, as the half-crowns of previous reigns.

The shillings were engraved by Wyon from a bust cut in jasper by Pistrucci.

The maundy money has the new bust, but the crowned numerals as before.

On the issue of this new money, individuals received in exchange for old coins, new ones equal in amount to the *nominal* value of the old, the loss falling upon the general revenue. Twenty stations were established in different parts of London for effecting the exchange, which, with the assistance of the bankers, was carried through in an incredibly short space of time.

Of this great recoinage of 1817, when the style of the coins was totally changed, as described, I do not think it necessary to give examples, as all the coins then struck are still in circulation; and beautiful and very numerous specimens, I hope, in the pockets and cash-boxes of all my readers.

The last specimens given in this work are, therefore, with the exception of the crown and florin of Victoria, the earlier coins of this reign, before the change of style. Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 12, are the first shilling issued in 1763. No. 13, Plate 12, is the obverse of a shilling of the issue of 1787. The first maundy money was like that of the previous reign. No. 14, Plate 12, is a three-penny piece of the *wire money*, as it was termed, on account of the slender Arabic numerals.

The gold coinage of George III. was not quite so long neglected as that of silver. But, nevertheless, the issues were scanty and insufficient. In the year of the king's accession, a gold coinage took place, and there are guineas of that date, and likewise of almost every year between 1761 and 1774. These issues were of guineas and half-guineas, the larger pieces being merely struck as medals. In the following year, quarter-guineas were again struck as in the reign of George I.; and a subsequent gold coinage took place in 1770, when forty-four guineas and a half were coined out of every pound weight of gold, twenty-two carats fine to two carats of alloy (crown gold); seven-shilling pieces being issued in addition to the quarter-guineas in this coinage.\*

In 1774, the head on the guinea was changed for one resembling, though in poor relief, a beautiful *pattern* afterwards referred to.

In 1787, a new gold coinage took place, and the guineas, known as "spade guineas," appeared; they were so called from the shield on the reverse, which was quite simple, and of the form of a pointed spade. The latest date I have seen on guineas of this pattern is 1799.

\* In 1793, the gold coinage had become so deteriorated that it was found necessary to obtain a grant of £230,000, to cover the cost of calling in the light gold; which, however, was a step in the right direction.

Then comes the last guinea, that of 1813. It has the head in a more modern style, and the reverse is also of a totally new character, having the arms in a *small circle*, enclosed in a "garther." The half-guineas followed nearly the same course, the improved head appearing about 1774, and the spade pattern about 1787; but half-guineas with the arms enclosed in a garther appeared as early as 1801, and I have seen specimens with the date of each year up to 1813; guineas of this type were probably prepared at the same time, but I have only seen them of the date of 1813.\*

The seven-shilling pieces have on the reverse a crown, but without a lion, as on the *pattern* to be referred to; the head on the early ones is very bad, but in 1804 it was changed for one similar to that on the half-guineas. Next came the twenty-shilling piece of 1817, once more termed a *sovereign*; the term "guinea," which first came into use in the reign of Charles II., finally disappearing.

The wretched state of the coinage throughout the greater part of this reign, though it did not, till the eleventh hour, stimulate the government to any effectual remedy, yet produced a certain extent of activity in the preparation of patterns,† and other such preliminary steps. The most remarkable gold patterns prepared are as follow:—

First, a finely-executed piece, dated 1772, the head of which is superior to that on any gold coin really issued up to 1817, though poorly imitated on the guineas from 1774 to 1787.

Secondly, a curious pattern, called La Mahon's, or Lord Stanhope's pattern: the head is very poor, and executed in a wretched wiry manner, which it is said his lordship considered a style likely to "wear well." This pattern has a curious border or edging, by which it is easily distinguished.

In 1798, a pattern guinea was proposed by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, of the same design as the large penny they coined for the government in 1797, with the raised rim and sunk letters. It looks very well in gold.

There is a pattern seven-shilling piece of 1775, with the rose, shamrock and thistle, crowned, for the reverse.

There is also a pattern half-guinea, having, with a view to durability, the portrait *sunk* instead of raised—an approach to the *incavo-relievo* style of the Egyptians, recommended for the new coinage of Victoria by Mr. Bonomi.

#### THE COPPER COINAGE OF GEORGE III.

The copper coinage received no more attention in the early part of this reign than the silver. The following are the only remarkable events connected with it. In 1770, the sovereignty of the Isle of Man was purchased of the

\* I should state that these notes on the guineas of George III. are made from the collection in the British Museum, which I have since been informed is far from complete.

† *Patterns* are such pieces as were not executed in quantity, and never issued.

Duke and Duchess of Athole for £70,000, when copper was struck for circulation in the island, having for its device the three legs, the armorial device of Man.\*

The general copper currency was in such a state about 1784, that private tokens were again tolerated. These tradesmen's tokens began with the Anglesea penny, and continued to spread in great variety, forming in themselves an interesting collection of medals, till superseded by the national coinage of 1797; in the July of which year a contract was entered into with Mr. Boulton, of Soho, near Birmingham, for coining 500 tons of copper, in pennies only.

The result of this contract was the production of the large, boldly-executed pennies (No. 15, Plate 12) still current; and so much better was this undertaking conducted at Soho, that though Mr. Boulton included many things not mentioned in mint estimates, he coined more cheaply, and yet gained a profit.† Indeed, so convinced was the government of his more acute views in the management of the undertaking, that they were glad to allow him to find his own copper for a subsequent coinage.

Specimen No. 16, Plate 12, is the reverse of a halfpenny of one of the next coinages in 1799.

Specimen No. 20, Plate 22, is the penny coined in 1805 for Ireland, with the crowned harp on the reverse.

#### COINAGE OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS AND COLONIES.

Ancient coins are frequently found in Man, supposed to be of the early sovereigns of the island, Godred, Fingal, Lagman, Olave, etc. etc., some of them bearing the names of these princes, whose authority seems to have extended from about 1050 to near the end of the twelfth century. In the year 1406 Henry IV. granted this island, with all its regalities, to Sir Thomas Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.

The earliest money coined by this family is dated 1743; it has the arms of Man, the three legs on the obverse, with "Quocunque jeceris stabit," and "I. D." for "James Earl of Derby," or rather "Jacobus Darbiensis," and below "1," for one halfpenny. The reverse is the crest of the Derby family, and the motto "Sans changer." Their last coins have on the reverse a cipher formed of the initials "A. D." beneath an imperial crown, and date, 1758. *Athol*

After 1770 copper money was coined for the use of the Isle of Man, with the local device of the three legs, but omitting all reference to the Derby

\* See next section, "Coinage of the Channel Islands."

† This penny has the inscription *sunk* in the raised rim, with a view to its long preservation. The whole pattern was thought so striking, that a pattern guinea was made from the same design. The die for this penny was executed by a German artist, in the employ of Messrs. Boulton, and a "K" exists on some of the coins—the initial of his name (*Kugler*).

family. Some copper pieces were struck for Man, in the style of the heavy penny of George III., with the old mottoes *sunk* round the edge.

For Guernsey and Jersey copper money was also coined in this reign, with the local types or arms. The money of the states of Jersey has generally their arms, the shield with three leopards, and the legend, "States of Jersey," and the date; on the reverse, the value within a wreath of oak. The coins of Guernsey, have a shield with three lions, and "Guernsey;" and on the reverse the value (as *four doubles*), and the date 1830 on those of George IV.

One of the last British coins struck for America was a halfpenny of George III., for Virginia, having the bust of the king on the obverse, and on the reverse the royal arms, crowned, and "Virginia, 1773."

In addition to these issues, notwithstanding the great neglect of the home-currency, the great increase of our colonial empire caused a remarkable variety of colonial coin to be struck, of which the following selection will convey a sufficient general idea.

In 1791 a copper piece was issued by the Sierra Leone Company, having a lion on the obverse with "Africa" in the exergue, and "Sierra Leone Company," for the legend. The reverse, two hands clasped—legend "1 Penny," and date.

In 1793 copper was coined for the use of Bermuda, having the usual bust, etc., on the obverse; and a ship with "Bermuda," and 1793, on the reverse.

In 1788, copper coin was issued for Barbadoes, having on the obverse a negro's head, wearing the Prince of Wales's feathers, and having the motto, "I serve;" and the reverse, a pine apple, with "Barbadoes Penny," and the date. Another Barbadoes coin of 1792, has on the reverse the king in a marine car, holding a trident.

In 1802 and 1809, copper and silver coinages were issued for Ceylon, the silver rude and rough, but the copper piece well executed. It is a stiver, the Dutch coin having been current there. Another large copper coin, of the size of a penny, the principal type an elephant, was issued for Ceylon.

In 1806, copper was coined for the use of Bahama, the reverse being a ship, with *BAHAMA*, and in the exergue, "*Repulsis piratis restituta commercia*"—suggested, no doubt, by the well-known Roman coin of Pompey the Great, struck to commemorate his destruction of the Mediterranean pirates that infested the Roman coasts at that time.

In 1809, handsome silver tokens of three shillings were issued for Essequibo and Demerara, having on the reverse a large Arabic "3," crowned, between oak branches, with the name of the colonies and the date; and a similar issue, rather thicker and smaller, appeared in 1811.

In 1813, a copper coin, of the same type and size, called a stiver, was issued, of the value of about one penny.

To dispose of all the money of this class issued by George III., I may

also mention in this place that in 1819, copper money was struck for the use of the Ionian Islands, having a figure of Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a winged lion, etc., and the legend, in Greek characters, IONIKON ΚΡΑΤΟΣ—"The government of Ionia". (See No. 10, Plate 23).

The German money issued by George III. was very various. The two-third dollar had a well-executed portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse ; in large Arabic ciphers, similar to those of his English wire money. The one-third dollar had the arms on the reverse, with  $\frac{1}{3}$  in small numerals below ; and the one-sixth, a similar type, had the arms within the garter.

The twelfth of a thaler (1815) had the type of the galloping horse of Hanover for the obverse, and the value on the reverse.

The marien-gros and four pfenn, had a cipher formed of "G. R.," interlaced and crowned, and the values on the reverse, in German, with the date. The gold issued in this reign, were the ten-thaler piece (1814) and the pistole (1803), both having the galloping horse on the obverse, and the king's titles for the legend ; the values, etc., on the reverse. The ducat (date 1815) has the same types ; but on the reverse is the legend, "Ex auro Harciniæ," denoting that it is made of gold from the mines of the Hartz forests.

The brass or copper of the German dominions was always considered insignificant, in consequence of the abundance of small base silver, the marien-groschen, etc. ; but in 1814, a piece of one pfenning scheide müntz was issued having the royal cipher, crowned, on the obverse, and the value on the reverse. It is about the size of a farthing.

The German money continued similar till the separation of Hanover, which took place on the accession of the female line to the English throne, in the person of Victoria I.

George IV. (1820 to 1830). During this reign the silver coinage continued of the same values and denominations as the recent coinage of the previous reign. Most of the pieces have the initials of Pistrucci (B. P.), who engraved all the first dies. The George and Dragon was slightly altered for the crowns, being also somewhat larger. In 1824, the king disapproved of the likeness on the coins, and the bust of Chantrey being just completed, Pistrucci was directed to copy it in a series of new dies ; but he declined imitating the work of another artist, and the dies after Chantrey's bust were consequently executed by Wyon ; since which time Pistrucci has enjoyed a sinecure in his appointment in the mint. In the bust after Chantrey, which is a highly-flattered likeness, the king is represented without the laurel, which, as an emblem of victory, was considered inappropriate, no war having taken place in his reign. It is a symbol that will most likely not be renewed. These pieces, with the reverse engraved by Merlin, are very beautiful ; and a great improvement on the last coins was also effected in the armorial bearings, by leaving out the

*lines* indicative of the colour of the respective fields, which rather confused the effect of the design of the coins of 1817 and succeeding years.

A reverse for the shillings was adopted in 1825, consisting of a sprig of rose, thistle, and shamrock, united under a crown. It had been proposed for gold seven-shilling pieces in 1775, when patterns only were struck.

The maundy money has the bust like the early coins of this reign, the new bust never being adopted for these small coins; the reverses have the numerals, crowned, between oak branches, and the date. Further particulars respecting the slight differences of each separate issue are superfluous in this place, as most of the coins are still in common circulation.

The gold underwent similar reforms as to the head of the king, the flat laureated head by Pistrucci giving place to the Chantrey head by Wyon; and there are double-sovereigns, sovereigns, and half-sovereigns, of this type. The double-sovereigns are most beautiful coin, the head in bold relief, and very simple and grand in effect. Five-pound pieces were also struck, but not for general circulation.

The copper coins underwent similar alterations; the old Britannia becoming a more Minerva-like figure, with a Greek helmet; and the Chantrey bust, without the laurel, was adopted on the later pennies, halfpennies, and farthings.

The copper coined for Ireland was still distinguished by the crowned harp on the reverse.

I shall not again refer to the colonial money till the end of this volume, when it will be necessary to devote a final paragraph to the British money coined in India. I must, however, note in this place that a project appears to have been entertained in this reign for issuing a general colonial coinage to circulate in the British dependencies in all parts of the world, with suitable types and legends; when, in 1823, a pattern for a general colonial coinage was prepared, having the king's head and titles on the obverse, the value, as  $\frac{1}{10}$  dollar, with a wreath, on the reverse, and the date 1823; or with the royal arms on the obverse, the titles in the legend, and a crowned anchor on the reverse, with an abbreviated Latin legend: COLONIA.(RUM) BRITTAN.(IÆ) MONET.(A), and the date 1823.

The German money issued in this reign was of small bulk, and mostly of the old types and legends, for which see previous reigns.

In this reign some colonial money for Demerara was issued: a fine three-shilling piece, similar to those of former reigns, and a *guilder*, similar in size and types to the English shilling.

William IV. (1830 to 1837). The Duke of Clarence ascended the throne on the death of his brother, and arrangements were made for a new coinage, exactly on the same principles as those of the last coins of the preceding reign.

Pattern crowns, issued only in small number for the cabinets of collectors, had the arms on the reverse, in a plain shield displayed on a mantle of ermine.

The half-crowns, of the same pattern with slight exceptions, were issued for currency.

The shillings were issued with no armorial device, but with simply "One Shilling" on the reverse between a branch of oak and one of laurel: a device affording perhaps still less scope for the talent of the artist than even the armorial bearings. But as long as the office of master of the mint is conferred upon some political adherent, without regard to his fitness for its duties, little reform in the style of art adapted to the coinage can be expected.\* The maundy money of this reign has the numerals, between similar branches of oak and laurel to those of the shillings.

The groat, or fourpenny-piece, was again issued for currency in this reign, and proved a very useful coin. The reverse is similar to that on the recent copper coins, Britannia helmeted, with a trident; and the legend "Four Pence."

The gold coins for circulation were like the last pieces of George IV., having the head without a laurel wreath, and very beautifully executed by Wyon; indeed a perfectly new impression of one of the sovereigns of this reign forms a very beautiful example of the art of the period. There were only sovereigns and half-sovereigns, the five-pounds and double-sovereigns being only coined in small numbers, and principally issued among collectors.

The copper coins were pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, and were modelled after the gold and silvers ones—the head being like those of George IV., without the laurel; the reverses having the figure of Britannia, like those of the last reign. The pennies of this reign have become very scarce, in consequence of the discovery, that the copper of which they were made contained gold, each penny being intrinsically worth three halfpence. This discovery soon led the whole issue to the melting pot.

The last Anglo-German money was issued in this reign, the types being as before. (See George I., II., and III.)

The death of the late king in 1837 brought the Princess Victoria, daughter of his brother the Duke of Kent, to the throne. In this reign no crowns have as yet been issued. The half-crowns have a very pleasing portrait-bust of the Queen, engraved by Wyon, from a wax model taken by himself from the life. The reverse has the shield, crowned, between two branches of laurel. The colours are again expressed in the arms by lines in different directions, in the usual heraldic manner—which is certainly not an improvement. The half-crowns were not issued for two years, many causes of delay occurring. The shilling resembles that of the preceding reign, the reverse having "One Shilling" between oak and laurel branches. The six-pences have the same types as the shillings. ●

\* Mr. Hawkins, in his excellent work, refers to these misappointments in a spirited and eloquent manner.

The maundy money has the portrait like the groat (or fourpenny piece), but the reverses have the crowned numerals as previously. The groat is still coined for circulation, having the figure of Britannia on the reverse as in the last reign, and also a threepenny piece, which is distinguishable from the fourpenny even to the touch—not being milled at the edge. The gold coins are only sovereigns and half-sovereigns, with the portrait by Wyon on the obverse. The larger pieces were only struck as medals; which may be procured by the curious on application at the mint. A pattern has, however, just been issued of a five-pound piece, which it is said is intended for circulation. It has a fine head of the Queen on the obverse, and on the reverse, as a step towards a greater display of art, a beautiful symbolic figure of Una and the Lion, which, though picturesque, appears somewhat far-fetched, and little appropriate.



The copper coinage is continued upon the same principles as in the two preceding reigns, with the exception of the addition of the half-farthing—a very pretty little coin, but not issued in sufficient numbers to prove of that convenience to the poor in the purchase of small portions of cheap articles of food, etc., which an abundant issue might have caused them to become, as shown in the case of *cents*, and other small copper money of neighbouring nations.

A pattern five-shilling piece was prepared in 1847, having the head of the Queen *crowned*, the last example of that mode of representation being the first issue of the reign of Charles II.—rather an unfortunate precedent. On the reverse was revived the pretty device of the four shields as a cross, the angles filled with well-designed branches of rose, shamrock, and thistle; the inscriptions beautifully executed in old English character, and of striking effect. (No 16, Plate 12). On the whole, notwithstanding many defects, it was a beautiful coin: but never worked, on account of petty abuses in the administration of the mint, the reform of which, it was found, would be more troublesome than the abandonment of the new crown.

The sketch of the coinage in the three last reigns is but a mere outline, as all the circumstances connected with the coins of a period so recent must be too familiar to require further detail, with the exception of the florin, to be referred to in the paragraph on the decimal coinage.



## THE ANGLO-INDIAN COINAGE, FROM GEORGE II. TO VICTORIA.

After the capture of Calcutta, the right to establish a mint there was one of the stipulations of the treaty with Suraj ad Doula, dated 7th February, 1757.

It being found that money of the native legends, or types, circulated more freely than with English ones, exact imitations of the native rupees were issued, even to the defects in the mode of coinage. Thus, the native dies being always made much larger than the piece of metal to be coined, the latter only received a portion of the legends; except when presentation pieces were struck, as on the accession of a new monarch, etc. No. 11, Plate 23, is one of the English rupees of this description, with the Persian legend.

In 1790, however, machinery was forwarded from England for the Calcutta mint, and rupees were issued showing the entire legend, and properly milled at the edge like European coins; this improvement was shortly afterwards adopted in Madras and Bombay.

In 1830, a mint was completed in Calcutta with steam power, capable of coining 300,000 pieces in one working-day of seven hours, and 303,000 have actually been executed in that time.

In 1835 it was determined that the Anglo-Indian coinage should henceforward bear the name of the reigning British sovereign, with English legends, the name of the coin only—*rupee*—being repeated in Persian. (See Plate 23, Nos. 15 and 16.)

In 1835 it was equally determined that the native *mohur*, the principal gold coin, should be superseded by an English one, with English types; the obverse was like the rupee (No. 15, Plate 23), and the reverse consisted of a lion and palm tree, after a design by Flaxman. (No. 17, Plate 23.)

The *pice*, or copper coins, were, in 1795, altered from the earlier Anglo-Indian types of the coins of Charles II. and James II., and issued with legends in the native language and character, after the manner of a well-known type of the native money; and having on the obverse "In the 37th year of the reign of Shah Alem," and on the reverse, in Bengalee, Najari, and Persian letters, "One pai sicca,"—the term "*sicca*," in reference both to rupees and pice, being an allusion to a standard monetary weight of that name. No. 12, Plate 23, is this pie in imitation of the native coin. It was afterwards made thicker and smaller, and the legends differently disposed. In 1831 the half *ana* or double *pyasa*, was issued with English legends, and a single *Pie*. (No. 19, Plate 23.)

There were two other mints in the territory of Bengal up to the year 1819—Benares and Furrukabad—whence the Benares rupees were issued, much like the rupee, No. 11, Plate 23,—the Furrukabad rupee being of similar character.

The native gold coins which at first circulated at Madras, were known as

*varahas* or *hoons*, and *fanams*. The former (No. 9, Plate 23) was, by the English colonists, termed a *pagoda*, the appellation being derived from the Indian pagod of the obverse; the reverse is a representation of the Hindoo deity Vishnu. The English name suggested the type of the subsequent coinage of pagodas, which took place in 1817. (See No. 14, Plate 23.) A gold rupee was afterwards substituted in the English mints, having native inscriptions similar to that of the silver rupees. The principal gold coin afterwards received another modification, when the lion rampart, holding a crown, became the type of the obverse, and on the reverse the name of the coin, etc., in native character,—the *ashraftee* (or *mohur*) of the Honourable English Company. At the Madras mint, where similar improvements had taken place to those at Calcutta, very pretty small silver coins were issued, of the value of five fanams (Plate 23, No. 20), and coins of smaller amounts, of the same types. In 1808 there was coined at Madras a half-pagoda of silver of about the size of an English crown-piece. It had a temple in the form of a pagoda for principal type, and on the reverse the Indian deity Vishnu. It is now superseded by the rupee with the native legends.

The Madras mint also issued pieces termed *dubs* or *cash-pieces*, being twenty, ten, five, and one cash piece, some struck at Madras, and some by Messrs. Boulton and Watt. (See Plate 23, No. 21, a twenty-cash piece; and No. 10, a one-cash piece.) The twenty-cash piece has the company's arms, and "Forty-eight to one Rupee," etc., on the obverse, and their value in Persic on the reverse; the smaller piece has only a lion on the obverse, and the value in Persic on the reverse, etc. At Bombay, silver and gold rupees with native legends were coined as at Calcutta and Madras.

The Bombay mint is now supplied with steam-power, and issues the same coin as that of Calcutta. The early copper coins of Bombay, as I have previously stated, were struck in England. No. 14, Plate 23, is a specimen of these coins, before the adoption of the company's arms for the type of the obverse. The currencies of the company's possessions to the east of the bay of Bengal have been principally confined to copper, generally coined in England. They have on the obverse the company's arms, and on the reverse the native name of the coin, *Keping*, etc.

Ceylon has always been supplied with coins struck in England. The elephant formed the principal type, till the head of the British sovereign was adopted. The silver and copper coinage of Ceylon, now consists of very handsome and finely-executed coins, their values being founded on that introduced by the Dutch, of stivers and rix dollars.

A copper coinage has also been struck in England for St. Helena, with the arms of the East India Company on the obverse; and "St. Helena Half-penny," and the date, with a wreath of laurel, on the reverse.

## OTHER COLONIAL COINS.

For Fort Marlboro (Bencoollee) half-dollars were issued as early as 1783; they were made in the style of the native money, having Persian legends on the obverse; but on the reverse "Fort Marlboro" in English, with the date.

The island of Mauritius was supplied with British coin in 1822 from the mint of Calcutta, where pieces of fifty and twenty-five sols, of a low standard, were made expressly. The values of the coinage being founded on those of France, the legends are in French, "Gouvernement de Maurice," etc., abbreviated, on the obverse; and on the reverse "Fifty Sous," etc.

This is an outline of the present state of the Anglo-Indian and general colonial coinage, but if the decimal system should be completely established in England, no doubt great modifications will take place in the Indian system, even if it is not made to assimilate in every respect with the home currency.

## DECIMAL COINAGE.

The great monetary event of the present reign, is the issue of the silver florin, or two-shilling piece, of the same types as the crown. (No. 16, Plate 12.)

As the tenth of a pound, this piece is intended to mark the first step towards a coinage entirely based upon the decimal principle. It is as yet premature to attempt a description of the manner in which this is to be effected, as the matter is still, to a certain extent, unsettled, and the merits of the different proposed modes, rather angrily discussed by their respective supporters.

Something, however, like the following will probably be the form ultimately adopted.

The florin to be the principal coin, divisible into twenty-pence, either giving them a new name or leaving them the old one; each penny of this increased size to be divided into five smaller pieces, of which one hundred would go to the florin, and one thousand to the pound sterling, which would still remain the unit of all our monetary calculations. It is proposed that the smallest coin, one thousand to the pound, shall be called a *mil*. Accounts might then be kept in three columns as now, the great advantages being, the getting rid of the fourth denomination, halfpence, or farthings, and the great comparative ease with which additions can be made. Thus, the sum we should now note as £5, 12s. 8d., would stand £5. 6*fls.* 40*mils.*, keeping the slight difference in the penny out of the question.

Or, as some would have it, making the florin the unit, and only using two columns—50*fls.* 40*mils.*

The last is certainly the shortest method, and, as it is by no means unusual to reckon in shillings, up to fifty, and to speak of fifty or even seventy

shillings, rather than two pounds ten, or three pounds ten, the transition to a calculation in florins would not be so difficult as it at first appears.

A still better method, however, as it appears to me, would be one much more directly founded upon the French system, which was matured after much more serious and scientific consideration, than the desultory discussions respecting the question in England have yet led to.

This view would make the half-florin or shilling the unit, leaving pounds out of the question, and then the transition from a calculation in pounds and shillings, to one in shillings only, would be very simple. The shilling of the present value, might then be divided into ten pence instead of twelve, the sub-division of the penny being into five instead of four, each fifth being nearly the value of the present farthing. But this might be for a time disadvantageous to the poorer classes, who would probably have to pay the *tenth* of their hard-earned shilling, for all articles charged one penny, instead of only the *twelfth* under the old system. I would, therefore, suggest that the new shillings be coined of the value of ten of our present pennies,\* and the pennies sub-divided for purposes of calculation into ten cents, as in France and other countries, where a decimal monetary system has been adopted. Accounts would then only be kept in shillings and cents, and £5, 12s. 8d., would stand simply 112s. 80c. I would then have the penny divided, as now, into halves and quarters, with the old names of half-pence and farthings, though in account they would never appear, being superseded by the *cent*, of which, the two last-named coins would be in reality pieces of five, and two and a half. This method of realising a decimal currency would have the immense advantage of equalising the monetary values of the two nearest and greatest nations in the world; and all the difficulties of the exchanges between them would be swept away, for our new shilling would be equal to the French franc, and our new sovereign equal to the twenty-franc piece; while the value of the lower coins, in which our own poor are so deeply interested, would remain unchanged. In reference to the payment of rents, and other matters fixed under the old pound, the simple addition of 20 per cent., or 4s. new currency, to each old pound, would equalise the old form with the new—so that a rent of £20 old currency, might be stated in the new as £24; or, more properly, in the new manner, as 480s. 0c.

At a time when every one interested in matters connected with the currency, is giving forth some theory on the decimal question, I have thought it necessary, in a work on the British coinage, to state my own views, in order to give such of my readers as would perhaps never refer to more scientific works on the subject, some general idea of the nature of the change proposed, and of the best mode of effecting it.

\* Reducing the penny in that slight degree necessary to make it accord with the French piece of two sous.

Mr. Farr, of the General Registry Office, Somerset House, considers that the adoption of a Decimal Coinage would greatly assist the less erudite classes, in understanding the principles of decimal notation, universally adopted in life insurance, upon which he makes the following remarks in reference to the form of a new decimal currency :—

“ The decimal notation is used in calculations of life insurance relating to money ; and I proposed some time ago (1848) to read the divisions of the £1, in the following manner. Thus, in £1·111 the figure to the left of the decimal point, is the pound or unit (*l*) ; the first figure to the right of the decimal point, is the tenth part of a pound, or the *dec*, contracted from *decima* (*sc. pars*) ; the second figure to the right of the decimal point is the one-hundredth part of a pound, or the *cent*, contracted from *centesima*, and is equal to  $2\frac{1}{10}d.$  or  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  within  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a penny ; the third figure to the right of the decimal point is the one-thousandeth part of a pound, or the *mil*, contracted from *millesima*, and is  $\frac{1}{20}$  part less than a farthing.”

In reference to a close correspondence with the currency of France, Mr. Farr suggests that a forty-cent piece might be coined, which would be as nearly as possible of the value of the French franc.

# APPENDIX.

## A LIST

### OF THE MOST REMARKABLE MOTTOS AND LEGENDS OF COINS ALLUDED TO IN THIS WORK, WITH THEIR TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

A. DEO. PAX. ET. INCREMENTVM.—("From God, peace and prosperity")—on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay. Plate 23, No. 7.

A. DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTV. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS., variously abbreviated, on the double rial of Mary (No. 1, Plate 7), for "A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris"—("It is the work of the Lord, and wonderful in our eyes.")

AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PCA. MVDI. MISE. NOBIS., variously abbreviated, for "Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis"—("Lamb of God, Thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us"), on the "Mouton d'or" of Henry VI. No. 11, Plate 5.

AVSPICIO. REGIS. ET. SRNATVS. ANGLIÆ.—("Under the auspices of the king and parliament of England"), on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay.

BEAT. TRANQVILITAS., for "Beata tranquillitas"—("Blessed tranquillity"), on a coin of Crispus, son of the Roman emperor Constantine. No. 20, Plate 17.

CAROLVS. A. CAROLO.—("Charles from Charles," or, if the halfpenny was called a "Carolus," we may read, "A Carolus from Charles.") No. 7½, Plate 11.

CAROLI FORTUNA RESURGAM, probably for "Fortunas Caroli resurgam"—("I will restore the fortunes of Charles")—on a siege piece of Charles I. No. 13, Plate 20.

CHRISTO. AVSPICIO. REGNO.—("I reign under the auspices of Christ"), on coins of Charles I. Plate 9, and others.

COLONIARVM. BRITANIÆ. MONETA.—("Money of the British colonies"), on a pattern coin for a general colonial coinage in 1823. Page 143.

CRESOITE. ET. MVLTIPPLICAMINI.—("Increase and be multiplied"), on a coin struck by Cecil, Lord Baltimore, for his settlement in America. Plate 23.

CVLTORES. SVI. DEVS. PROTEGIT.—("God protects His worshippers"), on coins of Charles I. No. 2, Plate 9.

DECVS. ET. TVTAMEN.—("Ornamental and useful"), on the edge of a silver crown of Charles II., to protect it from filing or clipping. No. 3, Plate 11.

DEVS. IVDIX. JVSIVS. FORTIS. PATIENS.—("God the just, powerful, and patient judge"), on the "chaise" of Edward the Black Prince. No. 8, Plate 5.

DILIGITE. IYSTICIAM.—("Hasten justice"); the reverse of the "lion" of Mary of Scotland. No. 7, Plate 8.

DNE. SALVVM. FAC. REGEM.—("O Lord, save the King"), on the "rider" of James III. of Scotland. No. 4, Plate 3.

DNS. AIYTO. PTECO. ME. IIPO. SPAVI. COR. MEVM. B.—reading, the IIPO as Greek letters, which were occasionally very capriciously used in mediæval inscriptions—this inscription appears to be, "Dominus protector adiutor prostravi cor meum"—("Lord my protector and help, I have prostrated my heart to Thee"), on the "pavilion" of Edward the Black Prince. No. 7, Plate 5.

EXALTABITVR. IN. GLORIA.—("He shall be exalted in glory"); the gold quarter-noble of Edward III. No. 15, Plate 4.

EX. AVRO. HARCINIÆ.—("From the gold of the Hartz"); coinage of Hanover, 1815. Page 140.

EXTREMVM. SVBSIDIVM.—("The last subsidy"), on a siege-piece of Campen. No. 7, Plate 21.

EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI.—("Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered"), on the gold twenty-shilling piece of Charles I. No. 3, Plate 10.

FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM. VNAM.—("I will make them one people"); reverse of gold unit of James I. No. 3, Plate 9.

FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNI.—("Kingdoms flourish by concord"); gold unit of Charles I. No. 1, Plate 10.

GLIA. IN. EXCELSIS. DEO. ET. IN. TERRA. PAX., for "Gloria in excelsis," etc.—("Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.")

HON. SOC. ANG. IND. ORI., for "Honorata Societas Anglicana Indiæ Orientalis"—("The Honourable English East India Company"), on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay. No. 7, Plate 23.

HIS. DIFFERT. REGR. TYRANNVS.—("In these the tyrant differs from the king"); in allusion to the type, the scales of justice, and a sword; silver mark of James VI. of Scotland. No. 10,

HIS. PRAESVM. ET. PROSIM.—("Over these I rule, and these I would benefit"); the quaint alteration of the Latin, was a fashion of the time.

IN. VTRYMQVE. PARATVS.—("Prepared for either event"—*Virgil*, lib. 2, b. 61); coin of James VI.

JAM. NON. SVNT. DVO. SED. VNA. CARO.—("They are not now two, but one flesh"), on a coin of Mary and Francis of Scotland. No. 14, Plate 19.

JHESVS. ATTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT., variously abbreviated on different coins—"Jesus passing through the midst of them, went away"; on the gold noble of Edward III. No. 5, Plate 6.

IUSTITIA. THRONVM. FIRMAT.—("Justice strengthens the throne"); two-penny piece of Charles I.

NEMO. ME. IMPVNE. LACESSIT.—("No one has touched me with impunity"); the "thistle-mark" of James VI. of Scotland. No. 13, Plate 8.

O CRUX. AVE. SPES. VNICA.—("Hail, oh cross, our only hope"); half-angel of Edward IV.

PARCERE. SVBIECTVS. ET DEBELLARE. SVPERBOS.—("Let the obedient be spared, and the arrogant be subdued"); twenty-pound piece of James VI. of Scotland. No. 12, Plate 8.

PAX. MISSA. PER. ORBEM.—("Peace established throughout the world"); farthings of Queen Anne.

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P. LON., for "Pecunia Londini"—("Money of London"); on a coin of Constantine, Emperor of Rome. No. 17, Plate 1.

PER. CRUCEM TVA(m) SALVA. NOS. XRE. (for *Christie*) REDEMPT(or)—("By Thy cross save us, O Christ, our Redeemer"); on an "angel" of Edward IV. For obverse, see No. 29, Plate 4.

POST. 5 and 100 PROA. INVICTA. MANENT.—("After five and after a hundred they remain unconquered"); on a "lion" of James VI. of Scotland. No. 9, Plate 8.

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QVATVOR. MARIA. VINDICO.—("I vindicate the four seas"); farthing of Charles II. No. 10, Plate 22.

RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR.—probably for "Religiosus Protector Leges Angliae Libertatis Parlamenti"—("The religious protector of the laws of England and the liberty of Parliament"); the Oxford twenty-shilling piece of Charles I. No. 16, Plate 9.

ROSA. SINE. SPINA.—("The rose without a thorn"), a motto assumed on the coins of Henry VIII., in reference to the fortunate termination of the wars of the roses; penny of Edward VI. No. 19, Plate 6.

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SANS. CHANGER.—("Without changing"); motto of the Earls of Derby, on their coins struck for the Isle of man. Page 140.

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SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EVM.—("The shield of faith protects him"); gold coins of Edward VI.

SIT NOMEN. DOMINI. BENIDICTVS.—("Blessed be the name of the Lord"); a bawbee of Mary and Francis of Scotland. No. 13, Plate 19.

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TE SOLVM. VERBOR.—("Thee alone I venerate"); "hat-piece" of James VI. No. 8, Plate 8. TIMOR DOMINI. FONS. VITÆ.—("The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life"); on a shilling of Edward VI. No. 16, Plate 6.

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TYPS. MONETA. ANGL(iae) ÆRIS.—("The type of the brass money of England"); pattern farthing. No. 5, Plate 22.

VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA.—("Truth the daughter of Time"); groat of Mary I. No. 4, Plate 7.

VICIT LEO. DE. TRIBV. IYDA.—("The Lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered"); testoon of Mary and Francis of Scotland. No. 17, Plate 8.

VICTORIÆ. BRITANICÆ.—("To the British Victory"); coin of Septimus Severus. No. 13, Plate 1.

XRC. VINCIT. XRC. REGNAT. XRC. IMPERAT.—for "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat"—("Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands"); on an Anglo-Gallic coin of Henry V. No. 12, Plate 5.

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### INSCRIPTIONS ON COINS.

It will have been seen, in following the series of illustrations contained in this work, that the earliest coins had no inscriptions,—a symbolic type connected with the foundation or early history of the state, being their only impress ; used as a seal, to denote that the value of the coin was guaranteed by public authority, which the sacred nature of the symbol, always connected with the religious faith of the people, was amply sufficient to authenticate. Eventually it was found that two states might use the same symbol, in which case the initial letters of the name of the state or city were added, as A. I., on the coins of Aigina ; AΘE (ATHÈ) on the coins of Athens, etc. ; afterwards the name of a sovereign, or chief magistrate, was added, the earliest example being the coins of Getas, king of the Edoneans, and Alexander I., king of Macedon ; that of Getas is accompanied by the title of "king," and the name of the people—that of Alexander I., the simple name, generally in the genitive case, reading, "Of Alexander," or "Of Philip."

At the period of the coinage of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt and Sicily, the title of king always appears, frequently accompanied by such titles as "saviour," etc., in addition to that of king ; their portraits also appearing, and displacing the ancient sacred symbols and images of the gods. On the coinage of the Greek sovereigns of Syria, the name was accompanied by the most inflated titles, as "Great king of kings," etc.

On the republican coinage of Rome, and other Italian cities, the inscriptions were simple, like those of the early Greek coinage, as the initial letters of a city, etc., but generally accompanied by numerals, denoting the value of the coins.

On the Roman coinage of the empire, the name of the emperor, accompanied by various titles, or official dignities. (See Page 31.)

After the fall of the Roman empire, the inscriptions of the coinage of the barbaric nations of the middle ages, reverted again to extreme simplicity, as "Witiges Rex," the first additions being of a purely religious nature, as on the coins of Charlemagne, on which, "I reign by permission of Christ," "By the Christian religion," etc., and more brief allusions of the same description on the Anglo-Saxon coinage. These inscriptions, however, soon disappeared, and the titles only of the sovereigns were used, till the fourteenth century, when mottos of a religious character became general, in addition to the titles of the prince. (See coinages of Edward III.)

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, mottos of a more general description were also used, as the "*Rosa sine spina*" of the coins of Henry VIII., in allusion to the termination of the wars of the roses, etc. ; and about this period, dates were first used on the coinages of Europe.

In England, a great variety of mottos were used till the end of the reign of Charles I., after which epoch, the simple titles of the prince gradually superseded every other kind of legend on the coinage, these being, after that time, almost invariably accompanied by the date, and frequently the year of the reign.

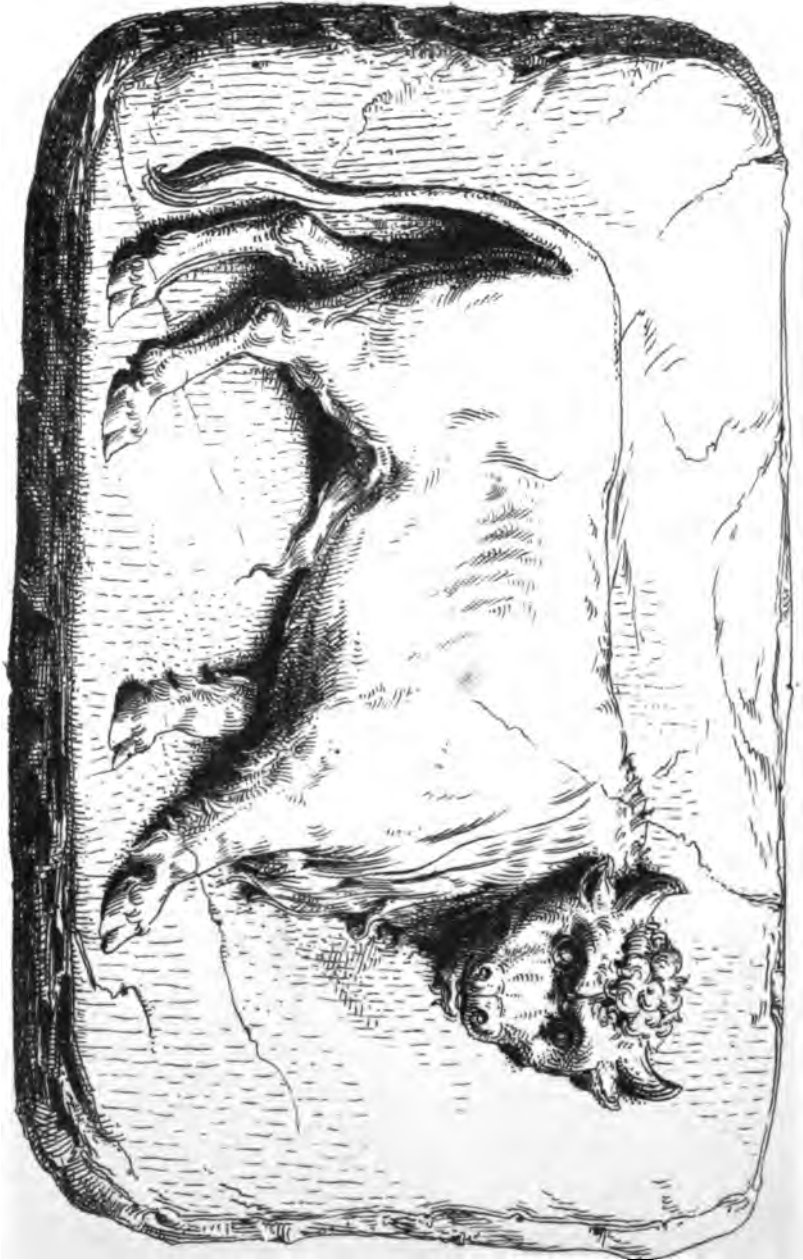
THE END.

GREEK COINS OF SUCCESSIVE PERIODS &c..

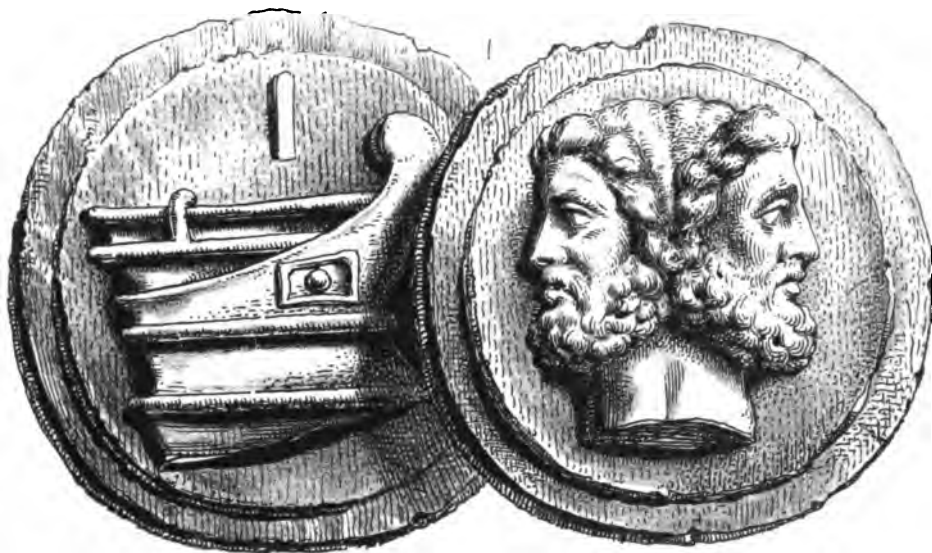








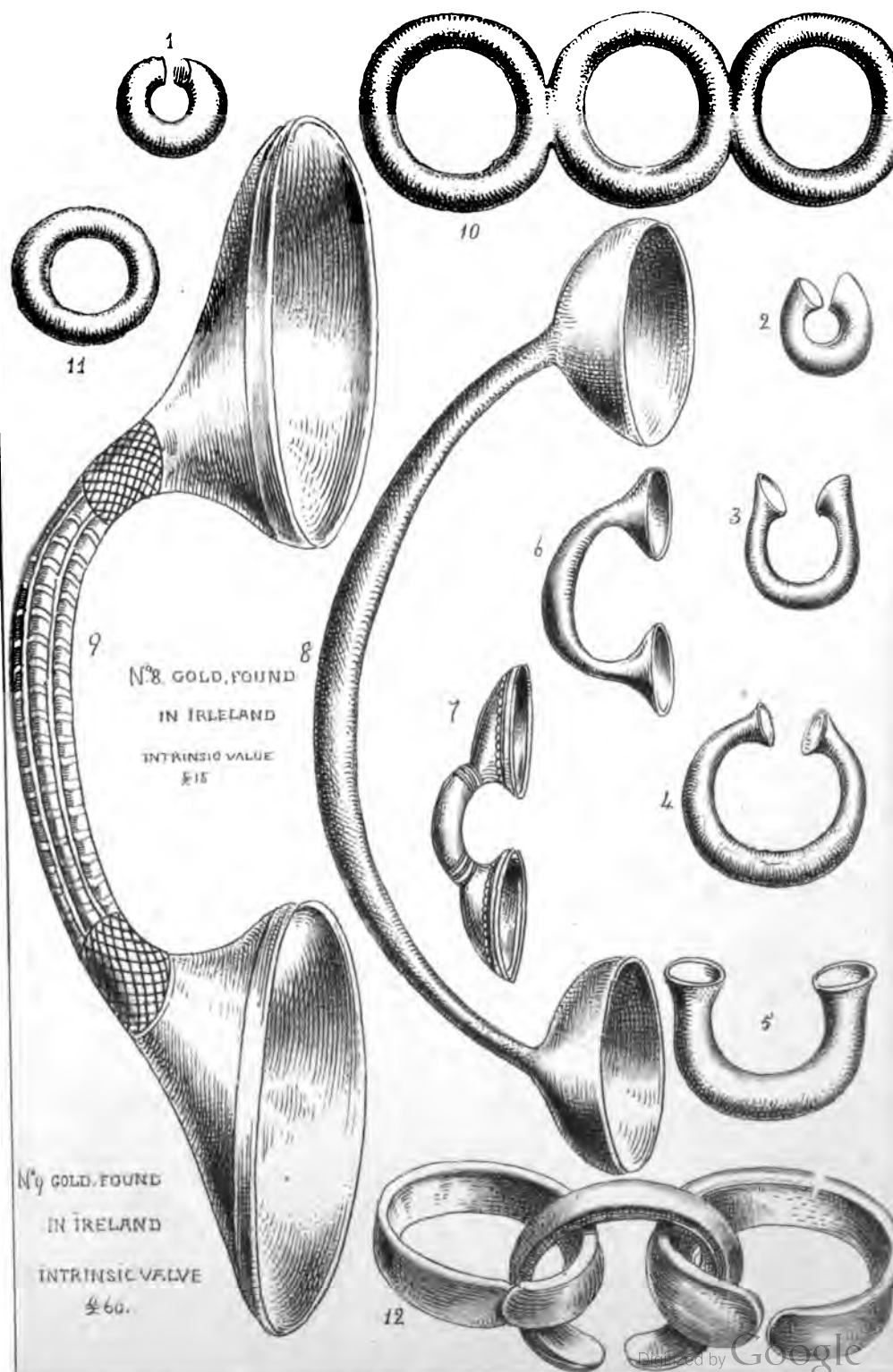




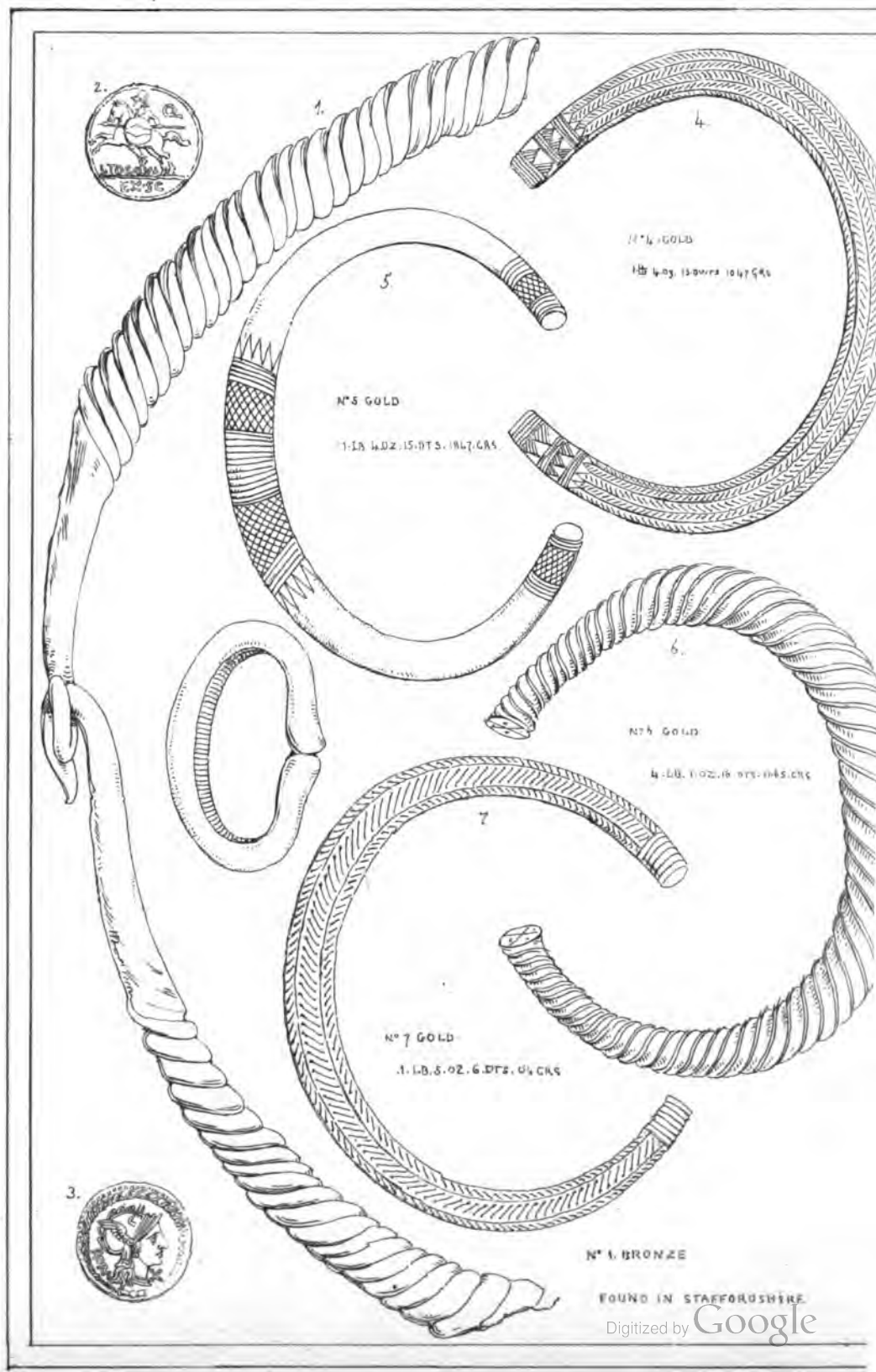
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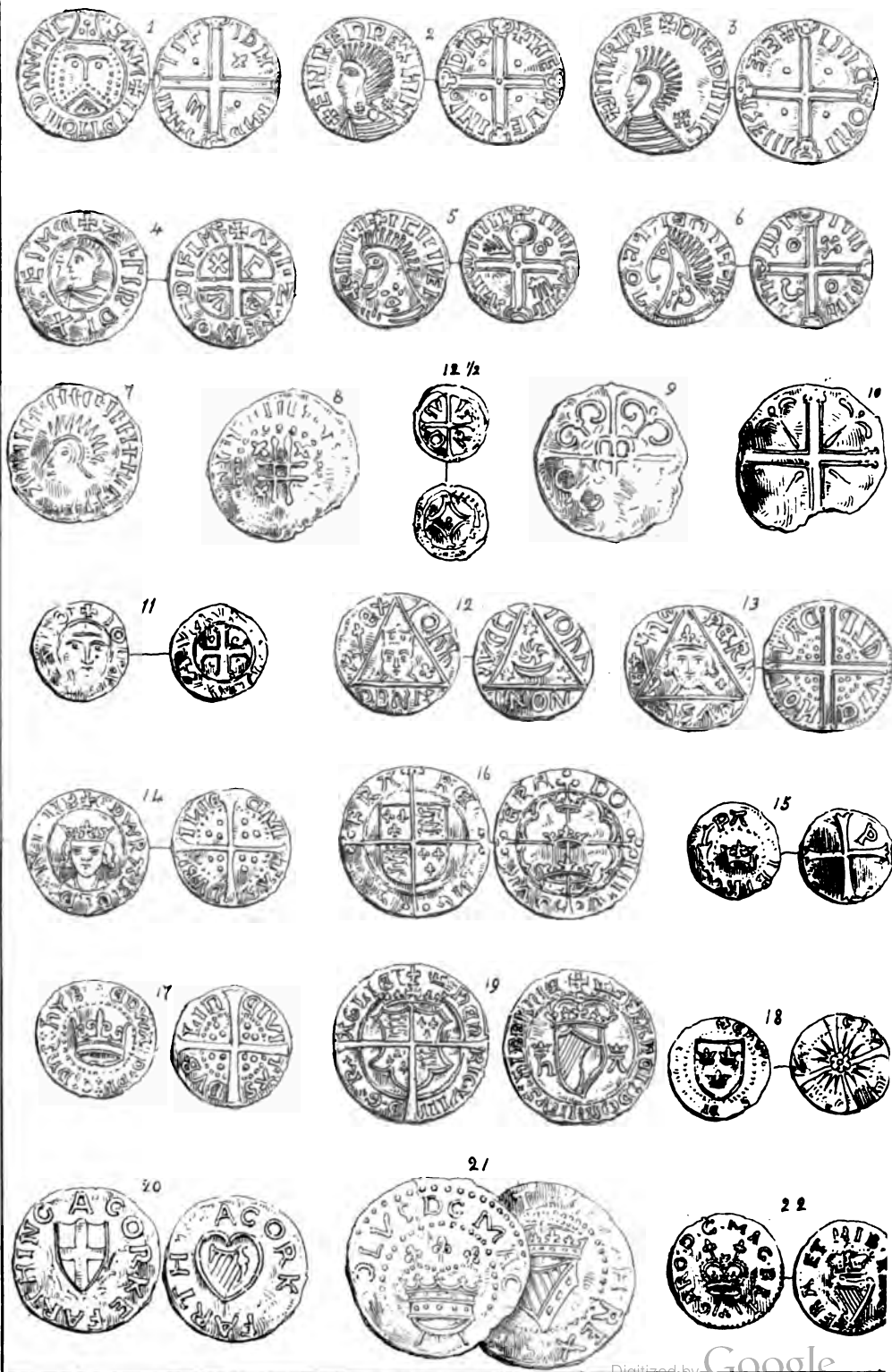




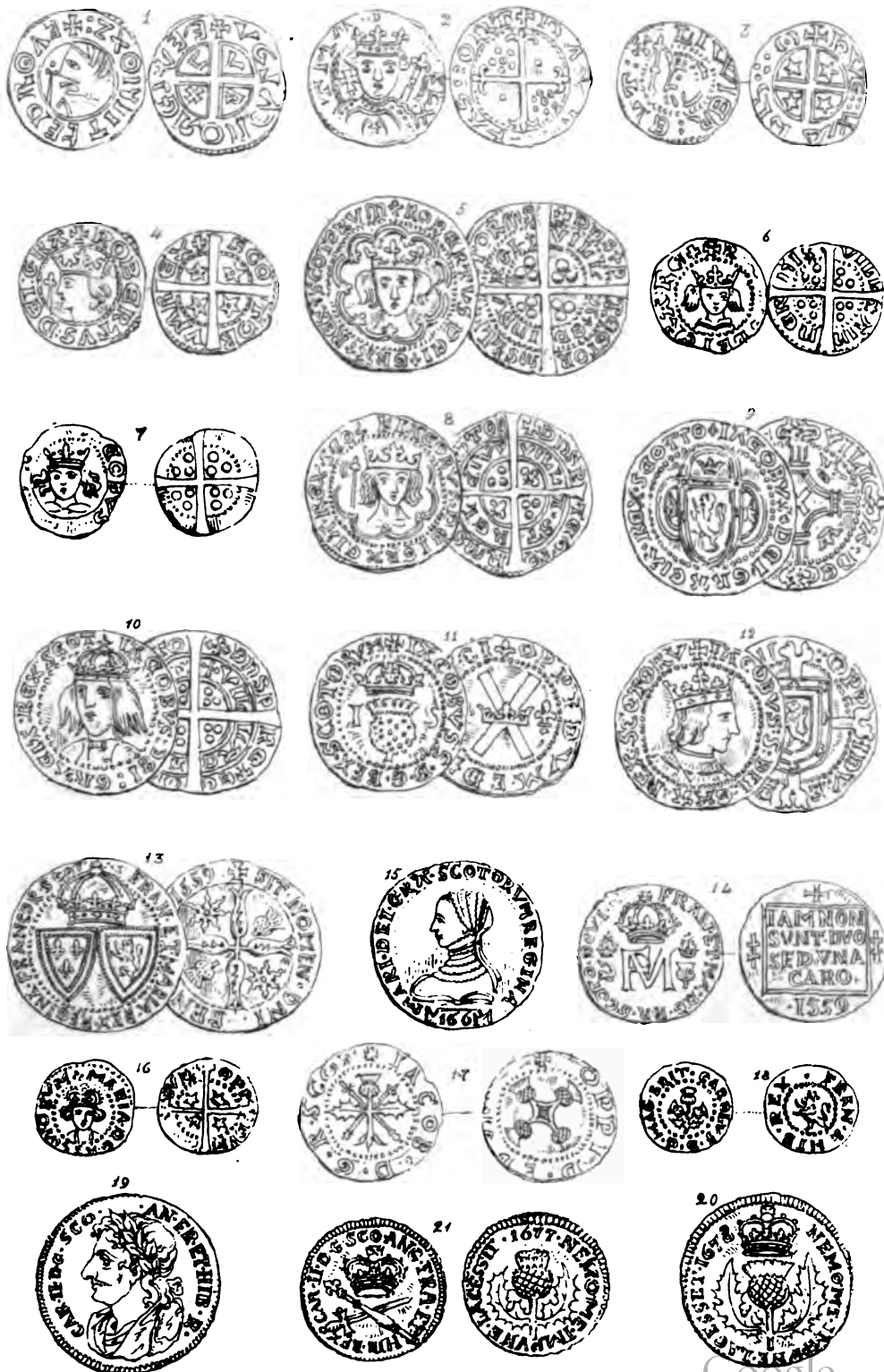
# EARLY BRITISH COINS & ROMAN COINS RELATING TO BRITAIN



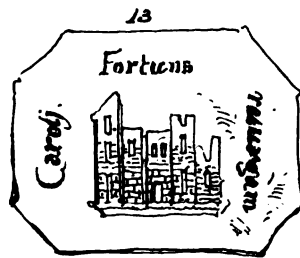
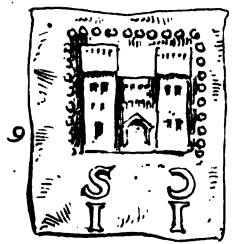
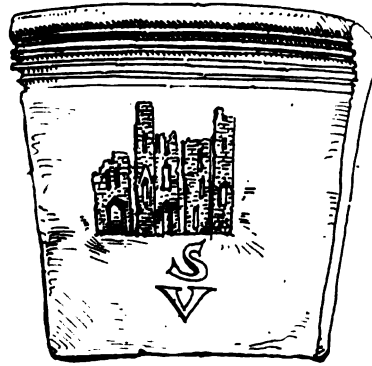
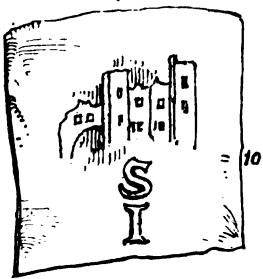
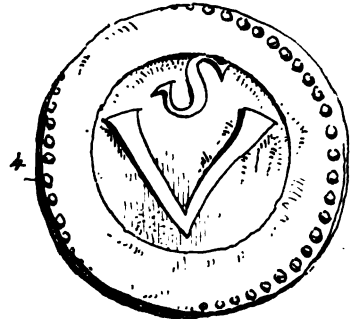
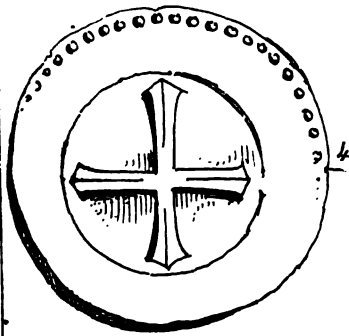
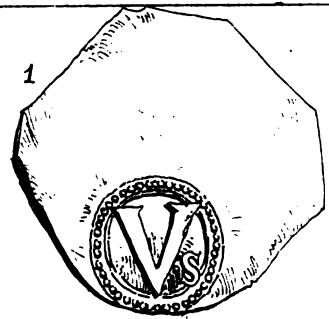






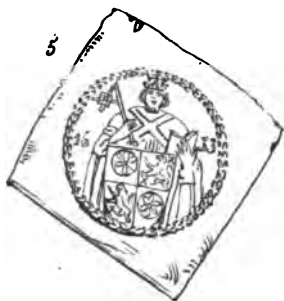




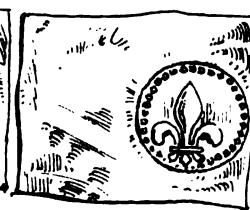
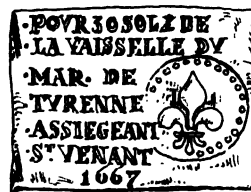
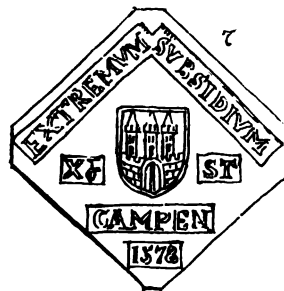








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